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PAPERS

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AMERICAN HISTORICAL ASSOCIATION

VOL. II. NO. 3

WILLEM USSELINX

FOUNDER OF THE DUTCH AND SWEDISH WEST INDIA COMPANIES

BY

J. FRANKLIN JAMESON, PH.D.

Johns Hopkins University

NEW YORK & LONDON

G. P. PUTNAM'S SONS

The Knickerbocker Press

1887

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WILLEM USSELINX

W. Barnes

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CONTENTS.

I.—EARLY LIFE. PAGE

Usselinx born at Antwerp, 1567 14
State of Antwerp 15
Origin of his family 16
His education 17
His early travels 18
Residence in the Azores 19
Return to the Netherlands, 1590 or 1591 21

II.—THE PROJECT OF THE DUTCH WEST INDIA COMPANY.

Discussion of peace or truce in the Netherlands 22
Their constitutional system 23
The peace party and the Orange party 25
The emigrants from the southern provinces 27
The project formed by Usselinx 28
His first efforts in its behalf 29
The States of Holland take it up 31
Their draught of a charter 32
Negotiations for peace or truce, 1608 34
Den Nederlandtschen Bye-Korf 35
Bedenckinghen 38
Naerder Bedenckingen 39
Vertoogh; views of colonial policy 42
Conclusion of the negotiations; the Twelve Years' Truce . . 45

III.—THE BEEMSTER.

Draining operations in Holland 47
The Beemster; doings of Usselinx there 48
His financial misfortunes, 1616 51
Machinations against him 52

IV.—THE CHARTER OF THE WEST INDIA COMPANY.

Conference with the States General 54
The revolution of 1618; share of Usselinx in it 55
Revival of his project 58
The draught proposed by the maritime cities of Holland . . 59
The draught prepared by Usselinx 61
His efforts to secure its adoption 64
His requests for compensation 65
Effects of the Thirty Years' War on the discussions, 1620 . . 66

PAGE

Further discussions 68
The company chartered, 1621 70
Current errors as to the second article of its charter . . . 71
Usselinx begins collecting subscriptions; the salt trade . . . 73
The question of an attack on Brazil 75
Claims of Usselinx as to recompense 77
His journey to Prince Maurice 78
Further discussions as to recompense 80
Korte Onderrichtinghe; Politicq Discours, 1622 81

V.—WITHDRAWAL FROM THE NETHERLANDS.

Discouragement and hindrances of Usselinx 83
His last appeal; its ill-success 85
His departure from the Netherlands, 1623 87
Glückstadt and Frederikstad 88
In Denmark 89
Dutchmen in Sweden; Gothenburg, 1624 90
Conference with Gustavus Adolphus 92

VI.—GUSTAVUS ADOLPHUS AND THE SOUTH COMPANY.

Economic condition and commercial legislation of Sweden . . 94
Companies previously instituted 96
The constitution framed by Usselinx for the South Company . . 97
His commission 100
His second prospectus 101
Political hindrances 102
Instructions for Carl Banér 103
Activity of Usselinx at Stockholm 104
Naerder Bericht, Ausz führlicher Bericht, Vthförligh Förklaring . 106
The capture of Bahia, and appendix thereon 111
Arrangements for the company 112
The South Company chartered, 1626 114
Provision made for Usselinx in its charter 115
His books published 116
The matter presented to the diet 120
The subscription-list; analysis of it 121
The king appoints his directors 122

VII.—FIRST YEARS OF TRAVEL FOR THE SOUTH COMPANY.

Usselinx sent to the king in Prussia 123
And thence through the provinces east of the Baltic . . . 124
Efforts of Usselinx at Riga, 1628 125
Journey through Livonia 126
Efforts at Reval 127
Journey to Finland; economic condition of Finland . . . 128
Efforts at Viborg and Abo 129

PAGE

General arguments addressed to the Finlanders and Norrlanders . 131
Return to Stockholm ; state of the company's affairs . . . 132
Co-operation of the government ; political explanation of this . 133
Requests made by Usselinx to the king 136
Personal matters 137
Low state of the company's affairs 138
Return of Usselinx to the Netherlands, 1629 139
Action of the States General on his request 140
Falkenberg's enlistments 141
The invasion of the Veluwe 142
Journey of Usselinx to the king in Prussia 143
His return ; his capture and narrow escape 144
The movement in favor of a truce 146
Waerschouwinghe over den Treves, 1630 147
Usselinx reprimanded on account of it 150
Compensation refused ; fortunes of the South Company . . 151
Withdrawal from the Netherlands ; Gustavus in Germany . . 152
Representations and efforts of Usselinx at Stralsund and Stettin . 153

VIII.—SCHEMES OF INCLUSION.

Inclusion of Germany, and wider commercial combinations . . 157
Usselinx at Frankfort and Würzburg 159
The amplifications of the charter ; death of Gustavus . . . 160
The "admiralty" at Gothenburg 162
The fortunes of the South and Ship Company, 1630–1632 . . 163
Mercurius Germaniae 164
The convention of Heilbronn ; the amplifications signed . . 167
Argonautica Gustaviana, 1633 169
Usselinx at Frankfort ; the battle of Nördlingen 171
The commercial and colonial policy of Richelieu 173
Usselinx in Paris 174
In the Netherlands again, 1635 175
Efforts for Dutch union with the South Company ; state of the latter 176
Aimless minor labors 181
Blommaert on Usselinx 182
The Delaware settlement ; opinion of Usselinx 183
Usselinx at the Hamburg conference 185
Correspondence with the States General 188

IX.—LAST YEARS.

In Sweden ; draining enterprises at Ulfvesund and Upsala, 1642 . 191
Return to the Netherlands ; the East and West India Companies 194
The last letters and memorials of Usselinx 197
His death, 1647 199

BIBLIOGRAPHY—I., PRINTED WORKS 201
II., WRITINGS NOT PRINTED . . . 213

PREFACE.

The sources of this biography of one who may be called the Lesseps of the seventeenth century, have been of three kinds: first, the books and pamphlets of Usselinx; second, his manuscripts, and manuscript materials concerning him; third, various books, contemporary or recent. Of most of the printed writings of Usselinx there are copies in some one or other of our libraries; of others I have obtained transcripts from abroad. Of them all, the Argonautica Gustaviana is the most comprehensive, and the most fruitful of materials to a biographer. As there are in America several copies of it, but very few copies of those pamphlets which are reprinted in it, I have, in citing them, made my references to the pages of the Argonautica. The first part of the appendix gives a full bibliography of all printed pieces which I attribute to Usselinx, with the titles lined and typographically imitated. Their rarity and the need of distinguishing editions seemed to justify this care; it has been possible to improve greatly upon the list given by Asher. In our own time some of the letters and memorials of Usselinx have been printed by the late Professor O. van Rees, in the appendices to the second volume of his Geschiedenis der Staathuishoudkunde in Nederland tot het Einde der achttiende Eeuw; another has been printed in the Kronijk of the Historisch Genootschap te Utrecht.

The late Hon. Henry C. Murphy, while minister of the United States at the Hague during Mr. Buchanan's administration, had copies made of some of the memorials and letters of Usselinx in the Royal Archives, as well as of most of the resolutions of the States General and a few of those of the States of Holland concerning him. It was the intention of

Mr. Murphy to prepare a biographical sketch of him, but this was never done. These copies, together with a few letters and notes on the subject, were acquired for the Library of the State of New York, and were examined by me at Albany. Considerable as this mass of material is, the archives at the Hague contain much more. The royal archivist, Mr. L. Ph. C. van den Bergh, was so good as to send me a complete list of all resolutions referring to Usselinx and all letters and memorials of his to be found there; I then procured copies of all those which were not included among Mr. Murphy's transcripts. Very few of the resolutions of the States of Holland, however, were included in either of these collections. Those resolutions, though printed, were printed in 277 volumes folio, and were not more accessible to me than manuscript. Through the kindness of Dr. W. N. du Rieu, librarian of the University of Leiden, I obtained a complete set of copies of all the resolutions of Holland respecting Usselinx or the Dutch West India Company down to the closing years of his life.

But much the largest mass of manuscript material, and that which has given the greatest amount of absolutely new information, has come to me from the archives of the kingdom of Sweden, at Stockholm. It was the habit of Chancellor Oxenstjerna to preserve his papers with great care. The Oxenstjerna collection in the archives mentioned contains therefore a great number of the letters and memorials of Usselinx addressed to him. Of these, and of whatever else the Swedish archives have that bears upon my subject, I have procured copies. Of one of his memorials a copy has come to me from the Archives des Affaires Étrangères at Paris. From local archives in various towns in the north of Europe, transcripts of documents or extracts from records relating to him have been obtained. As at the beginning of his letters or memorials to the States General or the Swedish chancellor he frequently mentions when he last wrote, I am able to have the gratifying assurance that, despite the distance in time, I have a copy of nearly every letter which he wrote to them, beside many to others,

of which he sent the chancellor copies. The second portion of my appendix gives a complete list of all his unprinted writings of which I have any knowledge; the other manuscript materials are not included.

As to books, contemporary or more recent, I have not knowingly neglected any, in any of the libraries hereafter mentioned, which might give me information concerning Usselinx or those portions of the history of his times which I needed to know. In the case of certain books not obtainable in this country, transcripts of the desired passages have been made for me, especially by the kind care of Messrs. Frederik Muller and Company, of Amsterdam. With the exception of these cases, all references have been made at first hand, except that once or twice a friend has verified for me a reference to a book which I had previously examined, but needed to consult anew on some detail; for I have had to examine these widely scattered books when I could. I have not thought it worth while to include a bibliography of such books. Such lists of "authorities consulted" are of little real utility in such a book; the references in footnotes suffice.

It is right that I should state what has previously been written upon Usselinx. In writers contemporary or nearly contemporary with him, very little is to be found concerning his life. The first who in recent times gave any considerable information about him from original sources, was Mr. W. J. E. Berg van Dussen Muilkerk, in two articles in De Gids for 1848 and 1849, entitled Bijdragen tot de Geschiedenis onzer Kolonizatie in Noord-Amerika. In the ninth volume of the Navorscher, Mr. J. Bouman gave a few additional facts. All this, however, amounted to but a few pages. Much more information was given by Dr. G. M. Asher, in his Bibliographical and Historical Essay on the Dutch Books and Pamphlets relating to New Netherland and to the Dutch West India Company, Amsterdam, 1854–67. The somewhat too glowing account of the life and writings of Usselinx, given in that excellent book, has remained to American readers the chief source of information on the subject. Meanwhile, in 1863, there appeared in the Preisschriften of the

Fürstlich Jablonowski'sche Gesellschaft at Leipzig, a Geschichte der volkswirthschaftlichen Anschauungen der Niederländer und ihrer Litteratur zur Zeit der Republik, by Dr. Étienne Laspeyres, in which was given some additional information respecting Usselinx, in connection with the economic history of his years spent in the Netherlands, and many bibliographical indications.

The best account of these years, however, is the chapter on Willem Usselinx and the founding of the West India Company, in the second volume of Professor O. van Rees' Geschiedenis der Staathuishoudkunde in Nederland tot het Einde der achttiende Eeuw, Utrecht, 1868, a most admirable book. This chapter had also appeared the year before as an article on Usselinx in the 107th volume of Vaderlandsche Letteroefeningen. But in both the book and the article the history of Usselinx is related only in so far as it is a part of the economic history of the time. And in all these books scarcely any thing is told of his life after his withdrawal from the Netherlands in 1623. Of the last three fifths of my monograph, therefore, nearly all is quite new, though some facts relating to this period have been given by Professor C. T. Odhner, in his Kolonien Nya Sveriges Grundläggning, translated in the Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography, vol. iii., and some, from the Argonautica, by Dr. Friedrich Kapp, in his article, entitled Peter Minnewit aus Wesel, in the fifteenth volume of the Historische Zeitschrift. My narrative, however, is constructed from original sources, quite independently of these books and articles, though I have consulted their statements, and in the early stages of my investigation derived from some of them valuable hints as to sources. The only thing published in America on the subject is a small pamphlet, printed as one of the papers of the Delaware Historical Society, entitled Some Account of William Usselinx and Peter Minuit, by Joseph J. Mickley. The part on Usselinx is of only seventeen pages, and not of a scientific character; concerning its assertion of being based on unpublished documents I have spoken my mind freely in foot-note 148.

In this country, my greatest obligations have naturally been for the most part to librarians, who have with unfailing kindness assisted the researches I have had to make in our various large libraries. I am under especial obligations to David Hutcheson, Esq., of the Library of Congress, to Dr. Henry A. Homes, librarian of the State of New York, and to Justin Winsor, Esq., librarian of Harvard University. Especially kind favors have been received from Professor Gregory B. Keen, corresponding secretary of the Historical Society of Pennsylvania, from Mrs. John Carter Brown and J. Nicholas Brown, Esq., of Providence, and from the late Hon. John Russell Bartlett. I have to acknowledge obligations less extensive but not less gratefully remembered, to the Honorable Mellen Chamberlain, Esq., librarian of the Boston Public Library, to C. A. Cutter, Esq., librarian of the Boston Athenæum, to Frederick D. Stone, Esq., librarian of the Historical Society of Pennsylvania, to Theodore F. Dwight, Esq., chief of the Bureau of Rolls and Library in the Department of State, to J. Carson Brevoort, Esq., of Brooklyn, to Dr. Geo. H. Moore, librarian of the Lenox Library, to Mr. Bjerregaard of the Astor Library and Mr. Newhouse of the Library of Congress, and to the officers of the Peabody Institute Library in Baltimore.

But the materials which I have obtained from abroad have obviously been the most important. For the largest portions of these, my warmest thanks are due to Mr. L. Ph. C. van den Bergh, archivist of the royal archives at the Hague, to Dr. W. N. du Rieu, librarian of the University of Leiden, and to Madame K. Sjöberg, of Stockholm. Without their kind assistance the book could never have been written. I have also received obliging favors from Professor Paul Fredericq, of the University of Ghent, from Dr. G. E. Klemming, chief librarian of the Royal Library at Stockholm, from Dr. C. G. Malmström, archivist of the kingdom of Sweden, from Dr. Claes Annerstedt, chief librarian, and Dr. Aksel Andersson, assistant librarian, of the University of Upsala, and from Henry Vignaud, Esq., secretary of the United States Legation at Paris. Town archivists have been very ready in

assisting my researches. MM. P. Génard, archivist of Antwerp, and H. van Neuf, archivist of Hasselt, Mr. A. Wildschut Az., archivist of Purmerend, Dr. Theodor Schiemann of Reval, Dr. G. von Bülow, kön. Staatsarchivar at Stettin, Dr. Mummenhoff of Nuremberg, and Dr. H. Grotefend of Frankfort-on-the-Main, have sent me materials of value. With equal kindness, though with less result, researches have been made for me by the archivists Dr. F. Crull of Wismar, Dr. C. Wehrmann of Lubeck, and Dr. Velke of Mainz, and by Drs. F. Voigt and W. Sillem of the Verein für Hambürgische Geschichte.

A part of the earlier chapters of this paper was read at the meeting of the American Historical Association at Washington, on April 29, 1886; a larger part before the New York Historical Society, on March 1, 1887. On the latter occasion, a member defended Dr. O'Callaghan from the charges suggested by what I have said as to his translation of the charter of the Dutch West India Company (see *post*, pp. 71–72). I did not feel that there was opportunity then to present my proofs; the reader will find them in foot-notes 126, 127, and 128. The defence urged was that Dr. O'Callaghan's competence was shown in the matter of a translation made by him in connection with a certain lawsuit. In subsequent conversation it appeared that the document was not the charter I was speaking of, and that the case occurred about 1877. I have not alleged that Dr. O'Callaghan could not make a good translation from the Dutch in 1877 (though I have no very great opinion of his scholarship); I have only stated that he *did* not make a good one in 1855, the date of his History of New Netherland, but adopted an imperfect one from Hazard. Portions of the subsequent chapters were read before the Historical Society of Pennsylvania on May 9, 1887.

My effort has been to give dates according to new style in Catholic countries and in the province of Holland, according to old style in other Protestant countries and cities.

J. FRANKLIN JAMESON.

JOHNS HOPKINS UNIVERSITY, Baltimore, May 12, 1887.

WILLEM USSELINX.

I.—EARLY LIFE.

"Y pues es de andar adonde haya trato grande, digo que no es razon de se detener, salvo ir á camino y calar mucha tierra fasta topar en tierra muy provechosa."—COLUMBUS, Journal, Oct. 23, 1492.

OF all the heroes who in any way assisted the emigration of the pious Æneas, only two, Palinurus, who navigated one of the vessels, and Misenus, who blew the trumpet, attained, through the bestowal of their names upon two Italian headlands, an immortal remembrance among the posterity of the colonists. Helenus, who, with minute care, pointed out the way, enumerated its dangers, foretold the greatness awaiting the band of exiles, supplied them with equipments, and sped them on their way, received no such reward. It has been somewhat so with the heroes of American colonization. The navigators of ships, on the one hand, and, on the other hand, the blowers of the trumpet, like Captain John Smith, have received among us in full payment the glory that is their due; but, meanwhile, we have been somewhat less than just to the memory of those who, without having themselves come to this country, or shared in the picturesque adventures of the age of settlement, stood behind all efforts towards colonization, and assisted them in ways more prosaic, but not less efficient, nor less deserving of grateful remembrance,—the class of colonial projectors. A voyage or two has been enough to make the names of Amidas and Barlow, Gosnold, Pring, Weymouth, and Henry Hudson household words among us. The very school-children know about them. But Richard Hakluyt and the Reverend John White occupy by no means so large a space in the public

eye, and even Raleigh would hardly do so were it not for fame acquired in other ways. It is the object of the present essay to relate, in sufficient detail to enable its importance to be correctly estimated, the career of a member of this latter class, a man almost unknown to the English-reading public, yet who was, though not directly the founder, at any rate the originator, of two of our colonies—that upon the Hudson and that upon the Delaware.

Willem Usselinx[1] was born at Antwerp,[2] in June, 1567,[3] a year marked in Great Britain by the murder of Darnley and the abdication of Queen Mary, in France by the second rising of the Huguenots and the battle of St. Denis, and in

[1] In contemporary documents and publications, the name is found written in a great variety of ways, to mention which may lead to finding further information, and thus be worth while: Usselinx, Wsselinx, Wsselincx, Vsselinx, Vsselincx, Wesselincx, Wesselinx, Wisselinx, Wsselinxs, Uysselingh; Usselincx, Usselingx, Usselinck, Usselink, Usseling, Usselingh, Usselincxs, Uselincxs, Uisselincx, Urselincx, Ursselincx, Ussling, Usling, Vszling, Vsseling, Wsselings, Wsselingz, Ẅsselincx, Wesseling, Eusselinx, Eusselincx, Eusselinck, Eusselijn, Yssling, Flessinghe. Of these thirty-five spellings, all of the first ten seem to have been used by himself; Wsselinx most frequently. I have, therefore, adopted Usselinx. His first name he spells Willem, or Wilhelm; others spell it also Wilhem, Wellam, and Guill'., to say nothing of Jan and Johan, obviously errors.

[2] Art. xxiii. of the Octroy of 1626; I have a copy in the Swedish from the Stockholm archives, but shall quote it from the German, printed in the Argonautica Gustaviana, p. 14. G. Udemans, 'T Geestelijk Roer van 't Coopmans Schip, i., f. 100. E. van Meteren, Hist. der Nederlanden (ed. 1662), p. 527 b; I shall quote Meteren by columns, *a* and *b* on the recto, *c* and *d* on the verso.

[3] The date of his birth, which Asher, Bibliographical Essay on the Dutch Books and Pamphlets relating to New Netherland, p. 73, declares to be unknown, and Laspeyres, p. 59, note 186, infers from Arg. Gust., Mercurius Germaniae, p. 33 (which he quotes from Marquardus), to have been 1566 or 1567, is fixed in 1567 by his own statement in an unpublished memorial of Jan. 16, 1645 (see Bibliographical Appendix, II., No. 90), of which a copy is among the Murphy MSS. in the Library of the State of New York, at Albany, designated as A. 8 in the calendar of those manuscripts which I left there. Van Rees, Geschiedenis der Staathuishoudkunde in Nederland, ii., p. 72, n. 1, cites the original to the same purpose. The date is further fixed in the month of June, 1567, by his statement in a letter of Mar. 16, 1639 (Bibliographical Appendix, II., No. 76), from Hamburg, to Jan Beyer, Secretary to Queen Christina (Stockholm MSS.): "want de Jaeren syn daer aende 72 niet meer als dry maenden gebrekende."

the Netherlands themselves by the arrival of the Duke of Alva and the departure of the Duchess Margaret. Antwerp was, at the beginning of that year, literally at the height of its prosperity, and we shall not be far wrong if we declare that the future merchant, economist, and colonial projector was born at the commercial capital of the world, the centre of its wealth and civilization. The immense trade which, two or three generations before, had been transferred to Antwerp from Bruges had not yet begun to decline; a few years before, we are told,[4] it was no uncommon thing to see the sails of two or three thousand vessels in the Scheldt; and, at the time of the arrival of Alva, the population of the city was probably not less than one hundred thousand.[5] From the day of that arrival, however, the decline of the city began. The heavy, ill-adjusted, and injurious taxes which the new commander imposed in order to defray in part the expense of building the new citadel, and, above all, the institution of the famous "Blood-Council," and the terror which its summary proceedings inspired in a community perhaps half Protestant, caused an immediate and extensive emigration of traders and others. A census ordered by the Bishop of London, in this year, showed that of 4,851 strangers then in the city, 3,838 were from the Low Countries. It is this exodus which has been, indirectly, the occasion of the preservation to our time of a few bits of information concerning the family of Usselinx. For towards the end of September, when Alva had been in the province scarcely more than a month, it already became necessary to issue a proclamation prohibiting any individual from leaving the country until he had given the city council a month's previous notice of his intention, and received their permission to depart.[6]

It is, no doubt, this order that occasioned two declarations which M. P. Génard, the archivist of Antwerp, a few years ago, discovered in the certificate-book of the *schepens* of that city, under date of Oct. 9 and Oct. 10, 1567, respec-

[4] J. W. Burgon, Life and Times of Sir Thomas Gresham, i., p. 72, quoting Huet. [5] Burgon's Gresham, i., p. 75. [6] *Id.*, ii., p. 242.

tively. In the former, Adriaen Urselincx, native of Hasselt, citizen, declares under oath that he has occasion, in behalf of his employers, to journey to Frankfort, Nuremberg, Leipzig, and elsewhere, for the sole purpose of collecting debts due them, and that he has no intention to remain in any of those places. In the second, Willem Ursselincx, citizen, makes similar declaration that he has occasion to go to Cologne, Bingen, Bacharach, and other towns on the Rhine, to collect debts due him and buy wine, and does not intend to remain there. The learned archivist is manifestly wrong in attributing the second of these declarations to the Willem Usselinx who is the subject of this monograph, for he was born only a few months before; we may suppose, the surname being a rare one, that the two merchants were his father and uncle.[7] It appears from the certificates that, though they had attained the freedom of the city of Antwerp, the family of Usselinx originated in Hasselt, a small town in the dominions of the prince-bishop of Liège, some fifty miles southeast of Antwerp,—the town where, in Mr. Browning's famous poem, the first of the three horses galloping from Ghent to Aix gives out.[8] In view of the strong

[7] From a separate reprint, kindly transmitted to me by M. Génard, of his fourth annual report as Secretary of the Société de Géographie d'Anvers, and printed in the bulletin of that society, Tom. vi., p. 147 (also in the *Bulletin des Archives d'Anvers*, T. xii., pp. 60–1). The certificates read:

"Adriaen Urselincx, geboren van Hasselt, *oppidanus*, *juravit et affirmavit* dat hy benoot wordt van hier te reysen naer Franckfort, Noerenberch, Lipsick ende elders om, voor zyne meesters, te heysschene, te ontfangene ende gecrygene sekere schulden die men hem schuldich is, ende dat hy tot geenen anderen eynde aldaer en is reysende, ende dat hy oock van gheender meyningen oft intencien en is aldaer zyn woonstadt te kiesen oft te houden."

"Willem Ursselincx, *oppidanus*, *juravit* dat hy benoot wordt te reysen naer Coelen, Byng, Bachgrach ende elders op den Rhyn, om zyn schulden te gecrygen ende oock om wynen te coopene, ende dat hy van geender meyningen oft intencien en is aldaer zyn woonstadt te houden oft te blyven woonen." Since, on his journey to Gustavus, in 1629, Usselinx took a pass from Groningen under the name of Willem Willemsen, I am inclined to suppose that his father was named Willem. These two dates are in old style.

[8] Mons. H. van Neuf, archivist of Hasselt, has kindly sent me a list of all the early baptisms and marriages of persons named Usselinx to be found in the archives there, but these begin only with the year 1582; the name William occurs in the family, however.

Calvinism of Usselinx himself, one's first thought might be that his father and uncle, if such they were, had fled to Antwerp to escape religious persecution from their ecclesiastical lord; but, in reality, the bishopric of Liège had been, during the period preceding, on the whole, a more comfortable place for Protestants than the provinces under the king of Spain,[9] and it is quite as likely that they removed to Antwerp for purposes of trade.

The youth of Usselinx was probably spent at Antwerp. His education was that of the business man rather than of the scholar; here and there in his writings he tells us, in quaint phrases, that he is not learned, knows little of the classics and of jurisprudence, has little Latin wisdom.[10] That education which comes from living amid stirring events he had much opportunity to gain. Not only were the first eighteen years of his life marked by the rising of the northern provinces, the heroic resistance of Holland and Zeeland, the pacification of Ghent and the union of Utrecht, the abjuration of Philip and the assassination of Orange, but in Antwerp itself the image-breaking riot of the year before his birth, and the Calvinistic tumult of that year, had been followed at short intervals by the troubles with the mutineers in 1574, the terrible Spanish fury two years later, the attempt of Anjou and his followers in 1583, and, finally, by the ever-memorable siege in 1584 and 1585.

All this, no doubt, did much to produce that intense hatred of Spaniards and Catholics, of which the writings of

[9] See the essay of M. Henri Lonchay, Les dits des Prince- vêques de Liège en Matière d'Hérésie au xvi^e^ Siècle, especially pp. 48–50, in the first *fascicule* of the Travaux du Cours Pratique d'Histoire Nationale of Prof. Paul Fredericq.

[10] Naerder Bedenckingen, pp. 2, 24, 34; Argonautica Gustaviana, pp. 32, 48. According to a note of Mr. Henry C. Murphy's, De Koopman, ii. (anonymous, 1770), says on Usselinx in a foot-note, p. 74: "Amateurs still know of a letter of his, written in French to Dr. P. Plancius; I have a copy of it among my papers." Other letters of his, in French, will be spoken of hereafter. The Stockholm MSS. show that he, in later life, had acquired some knowledge of German and Swedish; and a letter of about 1642, to Oxenstjerna, shows that he had an acquaintance, though not a perfect one, with Spanish.

Usselinx are so full, and this perhaps equally whether he was or was not still resident in the city of his birth. If he was, in fact, a witness of the great siege, he must soon after have left the city[11] and entered upon that second stage in his career, the effects of which, even more conspicuously than his early-imbibed hatred of Spain, appear with dominant influence in all his subsequent life. Following, no doubt, a custom of foreign service frequently observed by young Antwerpers of mercantile families, he went to spend several years, perhaps as agent of some great Antwerp firm, in other dominions of the king of Spain. That he went out with a mind open to other than mercantile ideas is, however, evident enough; in particular, an eager desire to know more of the wonderful regions then newly discovered, an interest in all geographical information, was likely to be part of the mental equipment of any young fellow-citizen of Ortelius and Mercator, who had been making Antwerp at this time the chief centre of geographical science.[12]

A part of these fruitful years was spent in Spain, perhaps chiefly at Seville, where he watched with eager interest the unloading of the great plate-fleets, and in Portugal,[13] but most of them apparently in the Azores, where he probably arrived soon after the occupation of the island by the troops of Philip II.[14] In those islands there was a considerable popu-

[11] Statements in the memorial to the States General, of August 15, 1630, printed in the Argonautica Gustaviana, p. 51, and elsewhere, require him to have been absent from the Netherlands for several years preceding 1591. A copy of this memorial, an important source for the biography of Usselinx, is in the Royal Archives at Stockholm (Bibliographical Appendix, II., No. 43); but I shall quote it from the printed copy in the Argonautica Gustaviana, rather than from my transcript of the manuscript.—The name Usselinx is not found in the list, published in the Kronijk of the Historisch Genootschap te Utrecht, for 1852, p. 27, of a large number of Antwerp families who, in the year after the siege, inform Leicester of their desire to emigrate to Middelburg.

[12] Vivien de St. Martin, Hist. de Géog., pp. 399, 400.

[13] Corte Aenwysinge, of April 13, 1620, published as Appendix iii. of O. van Rees, Geschiedenis der Staathuishoudkunde in Nederland, ii., p. 413; and Arg. Gust., p. 51. In Arg. Gust., p. 10 (Vthförligh Förklaring, Div verso), he says that he learned most of his science from the Portuguese.

[14] Arg. Gust., pp. 37, 51; Mercurius Germaniae, p. 41. A statement to

lation of Flemish descent. The islands had been discovered, or rediscovered, by mariners from Flanders, and were still almost as commonly called the Flemish Islands as the Azores. Somewhat more than a century before, a colony of two thousand Flemings had gone out thither from Antwerp,[15] "whereof, till this time," says Jan Huyghen van Linschoten, in Purchas, "there is a great number and offspring remayning, that in manner and behauiour are altogether like Netherlanders"; "yet," says he in another place, in his description of Fayal, "they vse the Portugals language, by reason they haue been so long conuersant among them, and those that vsed the Dutch tongue are all dead: they are greatly affected to the Netherlanders and strangers."[16] Here, among the friendly descendants of the

the effect that he had been in the Canaries is to be found at p. 255 in the Advies tot Aanbeveling van de Verovering van Brazilië, published in vol. 27 (1871) of the Kronijk of the Historisch Genootschap te Utrecht, and attributed by the editors to Usselinx. I have given elsewhere (Note 135) my reasons for believing that it cannot have been written by him. Udemans, 'T Geestelijk Roer, i., f. 100, says that he had spent several years in Spain, the Azores, and the West Indies; but this is explained by the statement in Arg. Gust., p. 37, (Vthförligh Förklaring, J verso), where Usselinx says, "I have lived for a time in the Azores, which are reckoned part of America." A similar statement is made in an unpublished memorial presented June 15, 1622 (Bibliographical Appendix, II., No. 12), now in the Royal Archives at the Hague, but of which a copy (designated as B. 1:9 in the calendar) is among the Murphy MSS. in the New York State Library at Albany; replying to cavils, he says that he has been in some islands of America, but that whether he had been in the Antilles or the Azores or Punta de Araya or along the whole African coast is all the same. Dr. Asher is in error when he says, Dutch Books and Pamphlets, p. 83, referring to that passage in the Dutch Octroy ofte Privilegie which corresponds to the German Arg. Gust., p. 37, that the statement there made as to his travels "has not been noticed by any compiler since Udemans, who is the only one who tells us that Usselincx has not been in America, but that he lived for several years in the Azores;" what Udemans really says is the reverse. The residence in the Azores is also mentioned in an unpublished memorial (Bibliog., II., No. 17) of Feb. 24, 1623 (Hague MSS.); a notation which I shall employ to denote documents at the Hague of which I have, through the courtesy of Mr. L. Ph. C. van den Bergh, the royal archivist, obtained copies.

[15] Bennet and Van Wyck, Verhandelingen over de Nederlandsche Ontdekkingen, etc., Utrecht, 1826, pp. 11–17.

[16] Purchas His Pilgrimes, Fourth Part, London, 1625, pp. 1668, 1672.

Netherlanders in Fayal, or among the Portuguese inhabitants and Spanish garrison of the larger port of Angra, in Terceira, Willem Usselinx served his apprenticeship as a student and observer of colonial matters, acquiring, sometimes at much expense,[17] that wonderful familiarity with the details of East Indian and West Indian trade, which the reader of his many writings is so often called upon to admire.

What the life of a Dutch factor in the Azores must have been, we can picture from the account, already mentioned, of Linschoten, whose three years' detention occurred at just about this time. The islands lay directly in the path of trade to both East and West Indies. Month after month "argosies with portly sail, like signiors and rich burghers of the flood," signalled from the twin hills behind the town, sailed up, laden with gold and silver and pearls, with silks and spices and drugs, into the port of Angra, discharged or shifted their cargoes, took in water and supplies, made their settlements at the weather-worn stone custom-house, and sailed away again. Meanwhile the foreign merchants, no longer jealously confined to a single street, as when the Portuguese ruled, yet still forbidden to explore the coasts of the island, rapidly drew streams of wealth from this main artery of commerce. Year after year the great carracks and galleons of the king's silver-fleet made their annual visit to the harbor; and year after year the English captains lay in wait for them off Flores and Corvo.

Usselinx was probably in the islands when Sir Richard Grenville, on his way back from Raleigh's deserted colony at Roanoke, plundered the Azores in 1586, when Drake, the next year, lying near the islands, took the "St. Philip," the first carrack captured, and when, in 1589, the Earl of Cumberland, in his third voyage, took Fayal; he may even have been there two years later, when, off the two northwestern

A full history of the principal island, during the period of Usselinx's stay, is to be found in Annaes da ilha Terceira, por Francisco Ferreira Drummond, Angra, 1850, pp. 268–382, for an opportunity to examine which I am indebted to the kindness of Col. T. W. Higginson.

[17] Arg. Gust., p. 37. Vthförligh Förklaring, J.

islands, gallant Sir Richard Grenville ended his life like a true soldier of Elizabeth, in the immortal last fight of the "Revenge." But it is most likely that, either in 1590 or in 1591,[18] the young merchant, already apparently a wealthy man,[19] returned to the Low Countries, and, making little or no sojourn in his native city,[20] repaired to the northern provinces, now far more decidedly separated than when he left from those still obedient to the king of Spain. Antwerp had indeed, since its capture by Parma, little attraction for an active and enterprising merchant. With the mouth of the Scheldt in the hands of the States, its trade rapidly declined. "At this day," says Fynes Moryson, "forsaken of Merchants, it lies ouergrowne with grasse, and the said trafficke inricheth Holland and the vnited Prouinces."[21] But it was with other purposes than those of an ordinary merchant that he repaired thither; the grand project of his life, that of founding a great West India Company, was already formed, and in 1591 or 1592[22] he be-

[18] Usselinx says, in the Argonautica Gustaviana, p. 51, and Mercurius Germaniae, p. 41, that he began discussing his great project there in 1591; in the Memorie aenwysende of Oct. 3, 1644, which forms Appendix xiv. of Van Rees, vol. ii., at p. 461, he gives 1592 as the date of this.

[19] In the Memorie van t' gene ick . . . noch voor te dragen hebbe, of Oct. 15, 1644, Van Rees, ii. (Appendix xv.), p. 476, he declares that he had been "een vande ryckste van 't Lant," and p. 478, that he had lost 100,000 fl. at the Beemster. In the Mercurius Germaniae, p. 44, he puts his total losses there at 300,000 fl., but apparently this includes what he had expected to make out of his investment. In any case his property was very large; Asher, Dutch Books and Pamphlets, p. 51, speaking of his request mentioned in the resolution of the States of Holland, on April 23, 1622, refers to 120,000 or 150,000 fl. as "a sum the more considerable for the times of which we speak, since the rich Kiliaen van Rensselaer did not leave so much to his heirs."

[20] Caspar Commelin, Beschryvinge van Amsterdam, Amst., 1726, ii., p. 1107, uses phrases which imply a residence in Antwerp just before his settlement in the northern provinces—"een Antwerps koopman, metter wooninge hier t' Amsterdam gekomen (alsoo die van de Herformde Godsdienst uyt Braband geschopt wierden) hebbende lang in Spanjen en andere vergelegen Eylanden verkeert." Commelin is no doubt the source of the similar statement in Van der Aa's Biographisch Woordenboek, art. Urselinx.

[21] Itinerary, part iii., p. 92.

[22] To what has been mentioned in note 18 may be added the statement on pp.

gan advocating it in the northern provinces, though he wrote nothing on the subject till about 1600.[23] But so closely was the scheme connected with the political state of the Netherlands at the time, that it will be quite necessary to give some account of this before describing the nature and details of the plan or narrating the labors of Usselinx in its behalf.[24]

II.—THE PROJECT OF THE DUTCH WEST INDIA COMPANY.

Westindjen Kan sijn NederLands groot gewin
Verkleynt 'svijands Macht brengt silver-platen in.
Voortganck van de W. I. Compagnie, 1623.

When the project of a Dutch West India Company first came prominently into public notice, the memorable war against Spain had been in continuance for forty years. The archduke and archduchess, who now ruled the southern provinces, and the Marquis Spinola, who had so successfully commanded the Spanish army for them, had come to be desirous of peace or a truce, and even the virtual ruler of Spain, the Duke of Lerma, was inclining toward it.

In the United Provinces, however, two opposite currents of opinion began to manifest themselves as soon as the notion of a cessation of hostilities was suggested. To Maurice of Nassau, stadholder of five of the seven provinces and captain-general of their forces, and famous for military skill

ii., 21, 30 of the Waerschouwinge over den Treves (edition of ii. + 30 pp., 1630, Bibliog., I., No. 22), that he worked thirty years before the company was started.

[23] Arg. Gust., p. 51.

[24] For the opposing constitutional and political tendencies of the times, I have used Motley's History of the United Netherlands, vol. iv., especially pp. 293–5, 398–400, Mr. Groen van Prinsterer's interesting introduction to vol. ii. of the second series of the Archives ou Correspondance inédite de la Maison d' Orange-Nassau, and Mr. L. Ph. C. van den Bergh's paper, De Binnenlandsche Staatkunde van Oldenbarneveld, in the Verslagen en Mededeelingen der Koninklijke Akademie van Wetenschappen, afd. Lett., 2de reeks, deel xii., pp. 72–87, with the discussion of the same by Messrs. W. G. Brill, R. Fruin, and van den Bergh, on pp. 88–96. Also, K. Th. Wenzelburger, Gesch. der Niederlande, vol. ii. (1886), pp. 707–722; and, though with caution, Dr. Asher's Bibliographical and Historical Essay.

above all the commanders of his time, peace meant a sudden and most serious, if not a complete, loss of power. His genius was adapted for war only, in it his life had been spent, with its cessation his occupation would be gone, and his influence in affairs would become insignificant. With this motive of ambition, strengthened by the fact that in the last few campaigns his military prestige had suffered in comparison with that of Spinola, was coupled the patriotic desire to make further conquests for the republic, to advance farther southward the boundary between the United Provinces and those still under the Spanish yoke.[25] To many of his compatriots it seemed a solemn duty lying upon those who had already attained freedom, to liberate their brethren, to assist them also to possess the promised land of freedom after their forty years' wandering in the wilderness, as Reuben, Gad, and the half-tribe of Manasseh, though secure in the possession of their own land, would not return to their houses until their brethren had inherited every man his own inheritance. Many also among the Netherlanders desired the continuance of those material gains which the war brought (for only the older men knew by experience the blessings of peace). Especially was this true of the merchants, the mariners, the ship-chandlers, all those in fact who gained their living by occupations connected with shipping and commerce, and, above all, those engaged in trade to the East or West Indies; for it was plain that the negotiators for the king of Spain would demand the renunciation of all trade with regions which he claimed as exclusively his own possessions. To these add the soldiers and those whose zealous Protestantism revolted at the thought of peace with the arch-enemy of their religion, and it will seem not improbable that more than half the population of the country desired the continuance of the war.

But it was no part of the constitutional doctrines of most of the United Netherlands that the desires of the majority of the people should prevail.[26] They were republics, they

[25] Van den Bergh, *ubi sup.*, p. 74.

[26] For the details of the constitution, I have used De Wicquefort's Histoire

were the freest lands in the world, but they were any thing but democracies. The governing body was, indeed, differently constituted in the different provinces. In Friesland and Groningen the provincial States were chosen by something closely approaching popular election. In some of the other provinces the nobility, and in one the clergy, enjoyed a greater or less degree of representation. But for the most part the provincial Estates consisted of deputies who represented the magistracies of the cities.

The municipal councils were, then, in most cases the ultimate authority; and these were, under some limitations, self-electing. Friesland and Groningen excepted, nowhere, virtually, was there any provision for popular representation. The city council chose all the officers of the city, and sent, to represent it in the provincial States, most commonly one or two burgomasters, several councillors, and the pensionary or the secretary. The number of persons deputed might be greater or smaller, for in any case each city had but one vote. The States of the province of Holland may best be selected as an illustration, not only because that was the largest of all the provinces, paying considerably more taxes than all the rest put together, but also because in narrating the life of Usselinx we shall frequently encounter "The Noble, Great, and Mighty Lords the States of Holland and West Friesland," and their constitution is therefore worth our attention. That body consisted of nineteen members; the nobility of the province formed one and were represented by one of their number; and the others were the eighteen chief towns, each represented in the manner already mentioned. The pensionary or advocate of the province presided over their deliberations and arranged their business. Their meetings took place at the Hague. Through this assembly the sovereign powers of the province were exercised, but it

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des Provinces Unies, t. i., pp. 5–25, and Cardinal Bentivoglio's Relacion de las Provincias Unidas de Flandes, pp. 3–9, not having permanently by me a copy of the Apologeticus of Hugo Grotius. I have not used the Italian of Bentivoglio, but the Spanish translation, Madrid, 1638, which I happen to have. See also Wenzelburger, *ibid.*

should not be forgotten that the sovereignty itself resided in the nineteen members and not in their deputies; and many of the most important matters of deliberation were subjected, as we shall see, to enormous delays, because the deputies in the provincial States must refer them to their principals, the city councils.

The seven provinces were independent and sovereign states. But the loose union in which they were joined had as its organ an assembly long familiar in the affairs of Europe under the title of "The High and Mighty Lords the Lords States General of the United Netherlands." This assembly was not a sovereign legislative and executive body; rather was it a permanent congress of ambassadors, deputed by the provincial States to represent them in deliberations at the Hague upon common affairs, but with little power of concluding save with the unanimous consent of the assemblies which deputed them, and of the city magistracies and other ultimate repositories of sovereignty which deputed those assemblies. Each province fixed the form of its representation to suit itself, since the voting was by provinces. A general council of state also existed, but with diminished powers.

Such had the constitution of the United Netherlands become. The whole system was full of those time-honored anomalies to which the Dutch mind clung with so tenacious a conservatism; and, obviously, it was any thing but consolidated or popular government. Especially since the quiet revolution which had followed, in 1588,[27] upon Leicester's withdrawal, power had been in the hands of close municipal corporations, of a burgher aristocracy. At the head of this revolution, and at the head of the ruling body thus intrenched in power, was John van Oldenbarneveld, the pensionary of Holland, omnipotent in its councils and in those of the States General. He it was who now headed the party in favor of truce or peace with Spain.

The burden of the war was great, its results had in recent years been slight; and the land had need of rest. More-

[27] Groen van Prinsterer, Archives, ii., p. LIX.

over, the advocate was attached to that system of government under which the rights of the individual provinces were jealously guarded, and political power was exercised through the assembly of the States General, though in such a way as to secure a preponderant influence to his own great province. Hence he had already begun to look with misgiving upon the authority which the House of Orange was acquiring through the continuance of the war under the direction of the two stadholders. All those who viewed with aversion any advance in the direction of centralization and monarchy, and especially the municipal oligarchies, shared for this reason his desire for peace. Moreover, however desirous the majority of those engaged in commerce might be for a prolongation of the war, the cities of Holland could hardly desire it to be pushed to the recapturing of Antwerp and the opening of the Scheldt. For in that case they might not unreasonably fear a revival of the prosperity of Antwerp at their expense, a great migration thither, the loss of all their recent growth, and a pronounced southward movement of the centre of gravity of the republic.[28]

Results of great moment proceeded from these dissensions respecting the truce; for out of them grew those permanent and pervasive party divisions with which the United Provinces were vexed till the very extinction of the republic. The germs of such a division already existed; in a federal republic the opposition of the decentralizing and the consolidating tendencies, of state rights and nationalism, is inevitable. But here were added, on the one side those allied tendencies to monarchy and democracy, with their natural impulse toward war, which gave the partisans of the House of Orange a position closely resembling that of the Barcine faction in the chief commercial republic of antiquity; and on the other hand, the tendencies toward municipal aristoc-

[28] Van den Bergh, *ubi sup.*, p. 74. Even in 1620 Girolamo Trevisano, the Venetian envoy, writes to the Doge: "Se può però creder, che se la città d' Anversa fosse nelle mani de' S^ri^ Stati, ò se misse à queste Provincie et potesse aver il commercio libero, come hora le viene impedito, fosse quella per ritornar nella sua floridezza et questa per declinar della sua grandezza."—Historisch Genootschap te Utrecht, Werken, nieuwe serie, No. 37 (1883), p. 419.

racy and civil rule and peace. The one was the party most favored by the poor, the other that of the rich; the one the party of the smaller provinces, the other that of the province of Holland, exercising in the confederacy a hegemony not unlike that exercised by Prussia in our day. Even the religious divisions came to have much the same lines of cleavage, for the Gomarists or Calvinists were in general adherents of the Orange party, while the political doctrines of the Arminians inclined them to the party of oligarchy. Prominent also among the objects of party contention were the East India Company and the West India Company, and their supporters were found in opposite ranks.

It was natural that the emigrants from the southern provinces, especially since they had no interest in maintaining the power of the municipal oligarchies or the rights of one province more than another, should adhere to the Orange party, for only through the continuance of the war could they hope to regain their homes and possessions. The exiles were very numerous[29] and enterprising. An astonishingly large number of the men eminent in this generation in Holland and Zealand came thither from the southern provinces. Aerssens, the secretary of the States General, his son the ambassador at Paris, Caron the ambassador in England, de Sille the pensionary of Amsterdam, Justus Lipsius, Gomarus the leader of the orthodox, Plancius the geographer, van Meteren the historian, Jodocus and Hendrik Hondius the engravers, Balthazar de Moucheron, Isaac and Jacob Le Maire, Godyn and de Laet,—all these were natives of the region now called Belgium.[30] Their influence upon the prosperity of the United

[29] See Usselinx, Argonautica Gustaviana, p. 19; Naerder Bedenckingen, p. 23. Asher, Bibliography, p. xiv., says that more than 100,000 Protestant families were driven to the north; I do not know his authority.

[30] Wenzelburger, Geschichte der Niederlande, ii., pp. 743, 744; Asher, Bibliographical and Historical Essay, pp. xiv., 32, 33, 75–7, and his introduction to the volume on Henry Hudson the Navigator, which he edited for the Hakluyt Society, pp. xxi.–xxxi. While much indebted to the former work of Dr. Asher for first pointing out to me the great influence of the emigrants, I cannot conceal my conviction that, following Usselinx too implicitly, he exaggerates it greatly, especially when, p. 76, he attributes to it the very existence of the Dutch as a nation. The facts exhibited by Wenzelburger, ii.,

Netherlands must have been great. And yet the position of many of them was far from comfortable, and even if they had not been excluded from political influence by the close corporations of the municipalities, and often looked at askance as foreigners,[21] they could not be content so long as their native land remained unfreed. Hence they adhered to the war party, and the project of a West India Company, which one of the most prominent of them formed, was chiefly intended as a means of indirectly undermining the power of the king of Spain.

The great project which Usselinx had formed, and to which all the best years of his life were devoted, was, in brief, that of the establishment of a great commercial company which, overcoming by combination of resources the difficulties which deterred individuals, might create and maintain a flourishing trade between the Netherlands and the regions of America. This, he urged, would, on the one hand, directly increase the wealth and power of the Dutch through the interchange of their manufactures with the raw materials of the vast regions thus thrown open as a market. On the other hand, it would also, indirectly, give opportunities for undermining the power of the king of Spain in those regions, and, if he sought to expel the intruders, transferring the war thither, diverting it from the Low Countries themselves, and impairing or cutting off at its source the stream of wealth which flowed thence to his military treasury.

When the negotiations for the truce began, in 1606, Usselinx had already been working fourteen or fifteen years in behalf of this bold and original project. As already mentioned, he had begun to advocate it in writing about 1600,[22] when al-

pp. 724, 725, will show how grossly Dr. Asher has, in order to support his thesis, underestimated the power and prosperity of the Dutch before they received these reinforcements from the south.

[21] Usselinx, Bedenckinghen, p. 7, and in the prefatory letter to the Ausz-führlicher Bericht, at p. 7 of the Argonautica Gustaviana.

[22] His writings up to the year 1606 he enumerates in the Memorie aenwysende of Oct. 3, 1644, Van Rees, vol. ii., App. xiv., p. 461 (A. 6 among the transcripts at Albany). He refers to three, a *vertoog*, a *police*, and a *discours*. The Discourse to which he refers in the Naerder Bedenckingen, pp. 1, 31, as written several years before 1608 to induce merchants to join in forming a

ready the Netherland trade to the East Indies had grown so great that two years later, by consolidation of the companies trading thither, the Dutch East India Company was formed, while that to America, especially the salt trade to Punta de Araya, had assumed a considerable and growing importance. His first efforts seem to have been made principally at Middelburg [33] and elsewhere in Zealand,[34] a province more favorable to the designs of the war party than was Holland; but he was also much engaged in conference with influential persons in Amsterdam.

Two of these deserve more especial mention, for apparently scarcely any one in the Netherlands, Linschoten excepted, had a higher reputation for geographical knowledge than they. These two were François Francken,[35] member of the Hoograad (Court of Appeals) of Holland, and the eminent Calvinist minister, Petrus Plancius, whom President Jeannin, when ambassador of France in the Netherlands,

West India Company, and the Discourse on the population of the Indies written at the same period, referred to in the Vertoogh, hoe nootwendich, etc., p. 12, may be identical with the first and third of these. Whether they were printed is not indicated; at all events no titles corresponding to them are to be found in the two mônumental catalogues of Dutch pamphlets, P. A. Tiele's Bibliotheek van Nederlandsche Pamfletten, and J. K. van der Wulp's Catalogus van de Tractaten, Pamfletten, etc., van Isaac Meulman. The second of the three, the *police*, is evidently the prospectus next mentioned in the text.

[33] So say E. van Meteren, Historie der Nederlanden, p. 527b, and Udemans, f. 100. Mr. J. H. de Stoppelaar, formerly archivist of Middelburg, now president of the "Tribunaux mixtes" at Cairo, in a letter to Mr. J. T. Bodel Nyenhuis (copy in Murphy MSS., C. 2), says that Usselinx's name does not occur in the archives of Middelburg or of Zealand as merchant or member of trading company, and he doubts his having resided in Middelburg for any considerable time.

[34] On p. ii of the Waerschouwinge over den Treves (ed. of ii. + 30 pp., Bibliog., I., No. 22), in the introductory letter to the States of Zealand, Usselinx implies this.

[35] In the memorial of Aug. 15, 1630, Appendix G of the Mercurius Germaniae, p. 45 (in Arg. Gust.), and in the unpublished memorial of Feb. 24, 1623, Usselinx relates that, though he had at first encouraged him, Francken at one time, being on his death-bed, sent him word through Roland de Werth, fiscal in Brabant, that if he began on so great a scale he would destroy all; but Usselinx convinced him, and he wished him good luck, and said, "You will carry the work out yet."

declared to know most about the navigation to the East Indies of any whom he found, and by whom in fact the charts used by the first Dutch ships going thither are said to have been drawn.[36]

Encouraged by these friends, he gave greater publicity to the arguments of his first paper. It was even shown to the States General, and met with so general favor that he was asked to draw up a prospectus, on the basis of which considerable sums were subscribed in Zealand.[37] In this (1604) he set forth, first, the evident determination of the Spanish king to drive the Netherlanders out of trade, evinced by his late edict and his addition of 30 per cent. to the toll; second, the desire for trade shown by the natives of some of the newly discovered countries, and the advantages of the same; and also the desirability of converting these natives and preserving them from Papistry. Those who subscribed to the amount of two hundred pounds Flemish (1200 florins) should have a voice in the choice of directors, and then as favorable a charter as possible should be obtained from the States General. Successful as the projector was in Zealand, at Amsterdam the magistrates urged him to delay until Paulus van Caerden should return from his expedition to the coast of Brazil.[38] This did not occur till toward the close of 1605.[39]

[36] Wagenaar, Amsterdamsche Geschiedenissen, xi., p. 272. Much information concerning his services to cartography is to be found in an article by J. J. Dodt van Flensburg, in Tindal and Swart's Verhandelingen en Berigten, v., 1, entitled Letterkundig verslag van . . de Verdiensten van P. Plancius omtrent de Zeevaartkunde. It may be interesting to add that he was one of the prominent opponents of the Brownist refugees (of whom the Pilgrim Fathers in Holland were a part) and that their renegade elder Slade married his daughter. See J. G. de Hoop Scheffer, De Brownisten te Amsterdam, in the Verslagen en Mededeelingen der Kon. Akad. van Wetenschappen, 2de reeks, deel x., pp. 252 note 1, 275 note 1, 312 and notes.

[37] Arg. Gust., p. 51.

[38] Van Meteren, 527 b, c. The addition to the toll and the prohibition of trade to Spanish possessions in the Indies were ordained by a decree issued at Valladolid, Feb. 27, 1603. W. J. E. Berg van Dussen Muilkerk, Bijdragen tot de Geschiedenis onzer Kolonizatie in Noord-Amerika, in De Gids, 1848, ii., p. 532. The florin = 40 cents.

[39] Van Rees, ii., p. 77. Berg, *ubi sup.*

Meanwhile Usselinx went about in the province of Holland, advocating his scheme[39] with so good effect that, on June 27, 1606, it was taken up and discussed at length in the meeting of the States of Holland. They approved it as "laudable, honorable, and very useful," and appointed a committee of members from a dozen of the cities, one or two from each, (Jan Huyghen van Linschoten was one of those from Enkhuizen), to find out how large subscriptions could be obtained. A form of subscription was provided, which recited that much damage was inflicted on the Netherlanders' commerce by Spain, and that accordingly it was proposed to establish a general company on the model of the East India Company, which should have for twenty or twenty-five years the exclusive right to all trade, except the salt trade, in the regions of Africa and Guinea, from Cape Verde to the Cape of Good Hope, and in those of America between the Strait of Magellan and Terra Nova (Newfoundland), including all islands.[40] The committee nominated were charged to bring the affair to a successful conclusion during July and August; François Francken, the friend of Usselinx, was nominated as a special commissioner to oversee the matter. On August 24th, he reported that, while many of the merchants are well disposed toward the company, they prefer to wait until the States General have decided on the patent.[41] At the instance of Usselinx, the States of Zealand, in October, sent two commissioners to the Hague with him to confer with a committee on behalf of the States of Holland in regard to the details of the charter. Their united efforts soon resulted in an agreement, except that Enkhuizen and Hoorn dissented in regard to the salt trade;

[40] Resolutions of the meeting, which Asher, p. 46, wrongly dates July 27th. The Registeren der Resolutien van de Heeren Staaten van Holland en West-Vriesland exist in print, but in 277 vols. folio, not generally attainable. A set is in the Thysiana Library, belonging to the University of Leiden, and from it a large body of extracts, mainly selected in accordance with the indications given by Asher, has been transcribed for me under the kind supervision of Dr. W. N. du Rieu, university librarian. My references to the Resolutions of the States of Holland are accordingly derived from these transcripts.

[41] Asher, p. 46.

and they produced a draft, not quite satisfactory to Usselinx, which they reported to the States of Holland, and to the States General,[47] and which was by them submitted to the cities.

The preamble of the draft[48] was much the same as that of the preceding subscription. Then followed provisions securing to the new company a monopoly of trade to the regions designated, and giving it the right to form alliances, to make war in defence or in retaliation, to build forts, to maintain its own troops and appoint its own officers, and to advance trade and population in all suitable ways. Their troops were to take an oath of fidelity to Count Maurice and to the States General; their officers might arrest offenders on the high seas; their ships were to be free of all tolls, and, for twenty years, of license duties. The prizes obtained from the common enemy should be set apart to provide ships and pay, but after the end of six years the surplus, whenever it amounted to ten per cent., should be divided, one tenth going to the States, one thirtieth to Count Maurice, and the remainder being distributed proportionately among the shareholders. The States General were to give the company a million florins in five annual instalments, and more afterward if they could, and were to provide sixteen

[47] Meteren, p. 527 c; Stoppelaar; Arg. Gust., p. 51; a brief unpublished letter to the States of Holland, undated (Hague MSS.); Bibliographical Appendix, II., No. 2.

[48] The provisions of the draft are given in Meteren, pp. 527 d, 528 a, b; in Hugo Grotius' Annales et Historiae de Rebus Belgicis, p. 506; I have also found them in the Mercure François for 1608, pp. 265 b, 268 a. The latter also contains a curious notice of Usselinx, which has apparently escaped observation because of the perversion of his name; it says that the first who opened to the Hollanders the knowledge of the West Indies was "Jean Flessinghe, natif d' Anuers, qui y auoit longuement traffiqué, & qui leur donna à cognoistre par vn Liure qu'il fit, Lees peuples qui y sont, [is this the Discourse on the population of the Indies (see note 32)?], ennemis mortels des Espagnols, le profit que ces voyages leur apporteroient, & l'ordre qu' ils deuoient y tenir en les saisant."

President de Thou gives the principal facts of Usselinx's efforts, and some details of the plan; (Joannes Vsselingus, he calls him). Jac. Augusti Thuani Historiarum sui Temporis Pars Quinta, pp. 1182, 1183. Francofurti, 1621. See note 193.

well-appointed ships and four yachts, to be manned, victualled, and supported by the company, which was itself to provide an equal number. The government of the company was constituted after the model of the East India Company, and indeed somewhat after that of the United Provinces themselves. It was to consist of four local bodies and of a general board. The Amsterdam chamber, which was to possess half the capital, was to consist of thirty directors; that of Zealand, having one fourth the capital, of eighteen; the third and fourth, each having one eighth of the capital and consisting of fifteen directors, were established in the cities on the Maas and in the cities of North Holland respectively. After the first six years, one third of these seventy-eight directors were to go out yearly. The general college or board was to consist of seventeen members, eight of them chosen by the Amsterdam chamber, and the rest, in proportion, from the others; its meetings were to be held for three years in Amsterdam, then for a year and a half in Zealand, then for nine months each in the other two. Ships were, when able, to return to the port whence they had set out. Accounts were to be published every six years, and the company was to exist for thirty-six, during which time no new subscriptions could be received and no stockholders could withdraw. Subscriptions were to be made within the next five months, and paid in four instalments, extended over the next four years. A constitution so closely resembling that of the United Provinces themselves had something of the same tendency to weakness through equilibrium of forces; it was therefore provided that difficulties which the colleges could not themselves resolve should be referred to the Council of State.

Opportunities for dead-lock, and for interminable delays during the process of discussion and referring to principals and referring back, were not the only faults to be found with the charter. To Usselinx himself it was far from satisfactory,[44] apparently because it seemed arranged principally with a view to warlike operations, while in his intentions,

[44] Arg. Gust., p. 51.

though about this time he presented to Count Maurice a plan for an attack on Portugal, the fostering of commerce had had the foremost place.[45] But none the less he, with Francken, went vigorously to work for it, travelling to and fro between North Holland and Zealand.[46] Many little difficulties were interposed by the cities, especially in regard to the salt trade. But in December the States of Holland, having fully made up their minds in its favor, resolved to urge the States General to issue the charter,[47] and early in 1607 this was done. Throughout the year, however, difficulties and delays continued, fostered, by means of the rivalries between the cities, by those who wished the war to end.[48]

For meantime, in the spring of this same year, an armistice for eight months, subsequently prolonged, had been concluded with the court of Brussels, and negotiations between the latter and the States General, looking toward the framing of a treaty of peace or a truce of several years, filled the remainder of the year.[49] At the beginning of February, 1608, commissioners on the part of the archdukes and Spain, France, England, and the United Provinces, met at the Hague, and began to discuss the terms of peace. Great difficulties were in the way. The commissioners of the States, with Oldenbarneveld at their head, insisted that their independence should be fully recognized by Spain, that com-

[45] Van Rees, ii., pp. 78, 79. His project against Portugal is spoken of in a letter dated Hamburg, Apr. 9, 1641 (Hague MSS.); Bibliography, II., No. 82.

[46] Letter of Mr. de Stoppelaar, already mentioned.

[47] Resolutions of the States of Holland and West Friesland, Dec. 6, 1606. I am indebted to Mr. A. Wildschut Az., archivist of Purmerend, for calling my attention to this and several other resolutions not mentioned by Asher. It is interesting to observe that the States of Holland at the same time declared their opinion that the company ought to have a capital of six million florins ($2,400,000), the sum which was adopted in the charter of 1621.

[48] Asher, p. 46; Grotius, Annales, p. 508.

[49] For the negotiations preceding the truce, I have used chiefly Cardinal Bentivoglio's Relacion del Tratado de la Tregua de Flandes, in the Spanish translation of Don Francisco de Mendoça y Cespedes, Relaciones del Cardenal Bentivollo, pp. 91–120. Madrid, 1638.

merce with both East and West Indies should remain perfectly open to them, and refused to reëstablish the Catholic religion. The representatives of the king were equally persistent in opposition upon these three points, but soon consented to recognize the fact of independence, if the Dutch would absolutely renounce all trade to the Indies. After a stormy session, on the 15th of February,[80] in which they had particularly insisted on this, the pensionary evidently resolved to use the project of the West India Company as a threat, for in the resolutions of the States of Holland on the 18th, that project reappears, and it is resolved to carry it out if the peace negotiations fail [81]; and not long after the deputies of the States General called together a meeting of those interested in the West India Company.[82] But the deputies of the king and the archdukes were not deceived, and finally, so great was the tenacity of both parties, all hope of a permanent peace was given up.

During the negotiations just described, a large number of pamphlets relating to them appeared from the Dutch press, and attracted no small amount of public attention. The seventeenth century was in the Netherlands a great age of political pamphleteering; copies of more than ten thousand such pamphlets of that century are still in existence. In little square quarto form, with quaint titles and black-letter print, they were constantly appearing, for the most part anonymously, and had a great place in the political life of the time. We perhaps owe it to a curious bit of business enterprise that so many, very likely all, of the pamphlets published against the peace during the time of the negotiations have been preserved. Some unknown but enterprising Dutch bookseller, having been asked by a friend to obtain for him all the pieces that had appeared on the negotiations, conceived the idea of making a collection of them, supplying them with a brief preface, and putting the whole

[80] Motley, United Netherlands, iv., p. 443; Berg van Dussen, in De Gids, 1848, ii., p. 531.

[81] Resolutions of Holland and W. Fr., Feb. 18, 1608.

[82] Meteren, 553 d.

upon the market as a volume. Such is the origin, as explained in the preface, of the now rare book well known to bibliophiles by the title of Den Nederlandtschen Bye-Korf, the Netherlands Beehive.[53] It contains nearly forty pieces bearing on the peace with Spain. The quaint preface has the form of a dialogue between a Fleming and a Hollander, wherein the former, finding the latter diligently reading, engages him in conversation by asking him if he has heard any news about the peace, and finds that he is occupied in reading recent publications concerning it. Appreciating their value, and the likelihood that they will soon become difficult to obtain, the Fleming buys successively of the Hollander all the pieces in the collection; a device whereby the publisher is enabled to include in his introduction a table of contents and a price-list.

Among the pieces so enumerated are three by Usselinx.[54] The first is entitled "Considerations on the State of the United Netherlands, in respect to Navigation, Commerce and general Trade in the same, in case Peace is made with

[53] Den Nederlandtschen Bye-Korf: Waer in Ghy beschreven vindt al tghene dat nu wtghegaen is op den Stilstant ofte Vrede, etc. For the bibliography of the Bye-Korf, see Tiele's Bibliotheek van Nederl. Pamfletten, pp. 87–89. I have not thought that my subject required me to take up the bibliography of any parts of the collection but those written by Usselinx.

[54] Van Meteren, p. 556 b, says that at this time there appeared many patriotic pamphlets against the truce, mostly without author's or publisher's name; but that many were attributed to Willem Uisselincx, of Antwerp, merchant, a very well-informed and experienced man. Dr. Asher, in his Bibliographical Essay, pp. 90–92, attributes to him, but without giving any evidence, the Discours by Forme van Remonstrantye, the Onpartydich Discours ofte Handelinghe van de Indien, the Waerschouwinghe or Memorie van de ghewichtighe redenen, the latter appearing also in a French translation, under the title Sommaire Recueil des Raisons plus importantes, etc. The first and third are also attributed to him by Van Rees, ii., p. 83. But Tiele has pointed out, Bibliotheek v. Ned. Pamf. 1, pp. 83–84, Nos. 636–645, that these are identical with three treatises given at length by Van Meteren, at pp. 549 a–553 d, of the edition of 1662, which I have used; and these, Van Meteren says, were caused to be published by the East India Company, the Onpartydich Discours being, further, first published in French. Mr. Tiele's conclusion from this, that they are not by Usselinx, is supported by the character of their style, which is very different from his, and by the fact that they are not mentioned with the others in the letter of Oct. 3, 1644.

the Archdukes in the ensuing Negotiations; set forth by a Lover of a just and permanent Peace." One edition of it bears on its title-page a marine view, and the characteristic motto: "Occasio calva est post." The second bears the title: "Further Considerations on the Navigation, Commerce and Trade, as also the Security of the States of the United Netherlands in present Peace-negotiations with the King of Spain and the Archdukes; set forth," etc. The third is called: "Exposition, how necessary, useful and profitable it is to the United Netherlands, to preserve the Freedom of Trading to the West Indies, in the Peace with the King of Spain."[55]

The first two are dated 1608. The first, the Bedenckinghen, written perhaps at Middelburg,[56] seems according to its title, to have appeared in January or February of that year; the second, the Naerder Bedenckingen, must have appeared at some time between that and June; the third, Vertoogh, between the beginning of March and the middle of August.[57] The first two have a common purpose. It is

[55] Bedenckinghen Over den Staet vande vereenichde Nederlanden, etc.; Naerder Bedenckingen Over de Zee-vaerdt, etc.; Vertoogh, hoe nootwendich, etc. For full titles, etc., see Bibliographical Appendix, I., Nos. 1–7. Usselinx himself declares all three to be his in the Memorie aenwysende of Oct. 3, 1644, Bibliog., II., No. 88. (Van Rees, ii., p. 462, has, for the second, "voorder bedenckinge," the copy at Albany, "naerder bedenckinge," which must be the true reading.) Furthermore he, at p. 51 of the Argonautica Gustaviana, acknowledges the authorship of the Vertoogh, and in the latter speaks of two preceding discourses of his in such phrases as plainly identify them with the Bedenckinghen and Naerder Bedenckingen. Add to this the statement of Van Meteren, who summarizes the three, pp. 556 b–558 a. Previously to the publication of these three he had also, according to his memorial of Oct. 3, 1644, in Van Rees, ii., p. 462, written a remonstrance which he addressed to Count Maurice. The annotated sale-catalogue of Mr. Murphy's library is in error in saying that the Vertoogh "is the original of the *Excellent Discourse*, printed in the rare English edition of Jacques Le Hermite's relation, 4to, 1625." Through the kindness of Mrs. John Carter Brown, and of J. Nicholas Brown, Esq., I have had an opportunity to examine the edition mentioned, and find that the *Excellent Discourse* is an English translation of the Voortganck van de West Indische Compagnie, 1623, a pamphlet in all probability not written by Usselinx; see *post*, note 132.

[56] P. 2, "hier tot Middelburch."

[57] The former limit for the Naerder Bedenckingen is fixed by its title, perhaps also by what seems to be a reference, on page 12, to the treaty whereby

to influence the negotiators on behalf of the United Provinces to make the most earnest efforts to secure to their brethren in the southern provinces some portion of the liberties which they themselves had acquired, and indeed to make the concession of such liberties an indispensable condition of the peace. They are warm-hearted, eloquent, and ingenious appeals, full of patriotism and public spirit, and exhibit their author at his best. It is worth while to summarize their arguments.

The argument of the Bedenckinghen is, first, that by reason of the peace the commerce of the northern provinces is certain to decline greatly, and the exiles from the southern provinces are certain to return thither. The former thesis he supports with arguments that show great familiarity with the condition of trade. The southern provinces, he says, in spite of their distresses, still have better commercial connections with the rest of Europe than the northern cities have yet managed to acquire. The ingenuity and industry of their population make them superior, not only to the northern Netherlanders but to all others, in respect to manufacturing; and he gives curious instances to show that they can also sell their manufactures to better advantage. Other things equal, it is, he says, much more likely that trade from France and the Mediterranean will go to Antwerp than to Holland, and no efforts to close the Scheldt will avail against

France promised assistance if the war went on; the latter limit by the statement on page 29 that the Spaniards attacked the Grisons "this last summer." For the uprising in the Grisons, backed by Spanish influence, occurred in the summer of 1607; J. Hunziker, Henri IV., les Suisses et la Haute Italie, Rev. Hist., xxiii., pp. 359–371. Hence this pamphlet must have been written before the summer of 1608, and probably before June 17th, when, according to Van Meteren, the negociations came, for a time, to an end. That the Vertoogh was written after the beginning of March, is plain from its reference on p. 5, to the "submitted articles," the three alternative propositions which the States' envoys at that time (Motley, iv., p. 448), laid before the other party; while any piece included in the Bye-Korf must have been published before Aug. 27, 1608, the date of the States' resolution forbidding its sale, Tiele, 1, p. 89. I am not able to explain the statement of the Vertoogh, p. 10, that the treaty allows the Netherlands to trade to any place which Spain has not occupied; this arrangement is generally said to have appeared first at a late stage of the next year's negociations.

this natural tendency. This shifting of trade will cause a shifting of population, the merchants flocking where gain is to be made; only the closing of the southern provinces by war brought trade to the north. Already Antwerp is recovering and houses are going up there. Since, therefore, the return of the exiles is inevitable, it behoves the States General to send them back well-disposed to their northern brethren and not impressed with the belief that these wage war for themselves only. To secure this result let the States insist that religious freedom be established in the provinces under the archdukes, that all religious innovations, the Inquisition, the Jesuits, the Capuchins, the new bishops, the foreign soldiers, the Castilian officials, be removed, that all men be given all the rights and privileges of citizens, without distinction of religion and that the Protestants have support for their preachers and temples, and the right to garrison certain cities as a security. If not, let the war be continued. And, indeed, there is no security for the observance of the peace by the government of the southern provinces, until the exiles are restored to a share in it. And this, the author says in conclusion, is no more than right; these have at every turn assisted in winning our successes; shall they have only loss, and we have all the gains?

All this is said in the plain and simple style of a merchant, but with much force and cogency. The style of the Naerder Bedenckingen has more color and picturesqueness, with much quotation of Scripture and many quaint and telling proverbs. So far as such qualities are concerned, it is the best of Usselinx's writings; its beginning may well enough be quoted as a specimen of his style:

"As in an ordinary fire," he says, "not only those are helpful in extinguishing, who give directions, pour water, protect the adjoining structures, by means of which the fire might run farther, but also those who cry 'Fire!' ring the bell, bring water or show where it is most readily to be obtained, and also especially those who, discovering from the smell and smoke where the fire is beginning, make it known to those who have the power to extinguish it; and as also it

is not fitting that any one who sees the common peril should, careless thereof, remain at his house, fancying that those whose office it is to extinguish the fire are so well acquainted with all and so well aware of the danger, that they have no need of help from him or from any other people, but, on the contrary, every one ought to run to see whether he can be of any service or help there; so to me also it has seemed unreasonable that I, in this general conflagration of my Fatherland, should not run, to swell with my hoarse voice the voice of those crying, to add my bucket of water to their great ocean, with my testimony to confirm their testimony of the danger, that, in such a case, where one cries, 'The greatest danger is here,' and another cries, 'It is there,' the firemen may be the better assured where the chief danger is, and, knowing the same, may flock thither to avert the common evil."

With this purpose in view, he has prepared the second discourse, the argument of which he himself summarizes as follows[88]:

"i. That by reason of the peace commerce will greatly decline, the emigrants will return, and consequently this state will be much weakened, and the enemy much strengthened.

"ij. That by the peace no security, advantage, or safety will be gained for this state, with the subject provinces remaining in the state in which they now are.

"iij. That the greatest security lies in winning the hearts of the [southern] Netherlanders, which can be secured, if their privileges and freedom be protected.

"iiij. That this may justly be, and ought to be, attempted, and, these being refused by the enemy, no peace ought to be made.

"v. Lastly, if the enemy refuse this, whether these provinces still have means to sustain the war longer."

It will be seen that the first part of his argument is the same as that of the Bedenckinghen. But he treats the first point with a greater wealth of detailed facts in corroboration,

[88] Naerder Bedenckingen, p. 2.

and declares that the state of the northern Netherlands will be like that of Nineveh in the prophecy of Nahum, iii., 16. ("Thou hast multiplied thy merchants above the stars of heaven; the canker-worm spoileth, and flieth away.") In treating of the second point, he exhibits in the strongest way his hatred and distrust of the enemy. Indeed, to the end of his life he was a most "hot Gospeller," and hated Spain and Papistry in a way that would have done credit to Salvation Yeo,—and a Remonstrant scarcely less. It is a certainty, he says, that the archdukes will not keep faith with heretics; "against which the royal Agreement will be of as much help as the tinkling of their bells against thunder, the sprinkling of holy water against the Devil, or the bulls of their Father the Pope against hell." [59] The army will have to be kept up to guard against them, neighboring princes will help less than in times of war, and meanwhile the southern provinces will be growing reconciled to them and hostile to us who have deserted them. To avert this the States should secure for them the privileges already mentioned; this is the only godly, honorable, laudable, and profitable course. They should help those who have helped them, both as a matter of justice and in observance of the Golden Rule, and this even to the renewing of war.

The fifth point he does not attempt to discuss statistically, but points out some considerations as to the comparative resources of the two powers, and suggests some additional means of success, such as those manifested by the recent naval victories, and those afforded by the establishment of colonies; and so makes an end, "praying the Almighty God and Father that He for the sake of the merits of His Son our Lord Jesus Christ, will through His Holy Spirit so work in the hearts of all good Netherlanders that they shall not in this perilous time bury the talent given them, but show the same and let it be put to use, and that He so endow our Christian hierarchy with the spirit of wisdom and judgment that they, being well informed of all, balancing the reasons on both sides, may make a just decision between the two opinions,

[59] Naerder Bedenckingen, p. 10.

and that they thus choosing the good counsel of the elders may reject the evil counsel of Rehoboam's young counsellors, that thus His holy name may be praised, His church and people established, and that we may finally obtain a desirable and happy peace. Amen."

It could hardly be expected that the archdukes should make such concessions as Usselinx urges. It is plain, too, and subsequent events showed it, that he exaggerated the extent to which the exiles would return, and the damage which would thereby be inflicted upon the northern provinces, underestimating the strength of the hold which the latter already had upon the trade of the world and the resources which they had of themselves, quite apart from, and anterior to, their reinforcement through the immigration of the exiles.[60] The warmth of his patriotism had clouded a judgment which, in commercial matters, was singularly clear and well-informed. It was not unnatural, therefore, that his efforts should be unsuccessful. The negotiations had not proceeded far before it was evident to all that the States' commissioners were not likely to insist on any such terms.

The third pamphlet, the Vertoogh, refers, therefore, to a quite different phase of the negotiations.[61] Accepting the fact that those securities for peace and prosperity, which were urged in the first two discourses, are not to be obtained, the author turns with undaunted resolution to consider whether there are not other means whereby the Netherlanders may secure themselves. Since it is trade

[60] Van Rees, Geschiedenis der Staathuishoudkunde in Nederland tot het Einde der achttiende Eeuw, ii., pp. 85–87. For matters of economic history I have most commonly used this work, and always with increasing admiration for its solidity and trustworthiness. I have made somewhat less frequent use for such points of Prof. Étienne Laspeyres' Geschichte der volkswirthschaftlichen Anschauungen der Niederländer zur Zeit der Republik, No. XI. of the Preisschriften of the Fürstlich Jablonowski'sche Gesellschaft of Leipzig. See pp. 61–64 of this latter.

[61] Professor van Rees, ii., pp. 88–95, has given copious extracts from this pamphlet; attention ought, however, to be called to one serious mistake in his text; the passage of seven lines, beginning "twelck in tijt van Vrede," p. 90, last line, really belongs after the first extract on p. 91.

which most supports them, they must by all means foster commerce and navigation, especially by securing to navigators some voyages on which they can go with more profit than can the subjects of the enemy. These can now be found only in the direction of the Indies; and Spain, he thinks, will have much success in undermining that to the East Indies. Accordingly, he devotes the present discourse principally to a discussion of the West India trade, endeavoring to show wherein consists the wealth to be obtained from it, how the Netherlanders can get a share of it, and of what advantage it will be to them. If not in itself so vigorous and enthusiastic as the first two, it has an additional interest as being more exactly in the line in which the principal efforts of his life and those which give him importance in history were directed.

He declares, in the first place, that the gain to be derived from the West Indies lies not in silver and gold, but in the natural products of those regions, and of this he gives illustrations, urging also that they might, under another economic system, become a much better market for European manufactures than now, with a population of slaves who require nothing. Most of the gain is to come from merchandise, and the best means to obtain it is to establish colonies and further the project of the West India Company, which can be done better and with less capital in time of peace than during war. A variant from his original plan here appears, however; "or," he says, "that the Lords States should themselves take this matter in hand, which, in my judgment, would be the best, and that every one in these provinces should be allowed to trade thither with passports; and that the provinces should have there a toll of five or of ten per cent., as might be best for the interests of themselves and of the common weal."[62] After proposing this remarkable modification of his original project, he goes on to exhibit how much of the western continent still remains unoccupied by Spain, and how easily and rapidly another power can gain a foothold there and reap those commercial advantages

[62] Vertoogh, p. 10.

which colonies bring; the better to secure these, the colonists should be forbidden to manufacture, or to trade with any but the mother country. Among these advantages would be not only that of drawing population and prosperity to the Netherlands, but also the undermining of the Spanish power in those regions, a power far from being perfectly secure.

Next the writer proceeds to controvert successively, with arguments most interesting to the student of economics, but too detailed for insertion here, the objections that the United Netherlands have no population to spare for such enterprises; that those countries are too hot for Europeans to work in, and competition with the slave labor of the Spaniards will, therefore, be impossible; and that when the Netherlanders had incurred the expense and risk and done the work, other nations would take the benefits. In his answer to the first, it is interesting to see that his eye is already turned toward the north of Europe as a source whence colonists may be drawn. The discussion concerning slave labor is remarkable for its clear perception of the economic disadvantages of slavery.[68]

Thus is the West India trade exhibited as the means upon which the United Netherlands must rely for their preservation. Rather than give up the trade to the Indies, as Spain demands, it were better to continue the war, with all its losses and burdens. "What shall it avail us that our towns are rich, our houses well built and expensively furnished, if others shall possess them, and we must be exiles in foreign lands? What, again, shall the richness of our hospitals and other foundations avail us, while we in foreign lands shall die in misery in the woods, the fields and streets? Again, what shall it avail us that we have means to leave our children a good inheritance, and support our wives and daughters well and finely, if strangers shall have their inheritance, and

[68] Vertoogh, p. 17. Dr. Asher has transcribed this passage, Bibliographical Essay, pp. 80, 81. I may say here that, highly as I am inclined to rate these pamphlets, I think Dr. Asher is somewhat too enthusiastic in his description of them.

Papists, monks and Spaniards and other ruffians, violate them, as we in this long war have often seen? Finally, what shall it help us that we have fought so manfully and steadfastly for the Fatherland, and gained eternal fame, if we now by a dishonorable, unprofitable and oppressive treaty lose the same and freedom too, and become an object of scorn before all the world, because, having a good opportunity for strengthening ourselves and gaining complete deliverance, we have lost both this opportunity and our rights?"[64]

Such were the appeals which Usselinx addressed to his countrymen, north and south, in respect to the peace negotiations. It is plain that we have to do with no ordinary pamphleteer. The Vertoogh, in particular, is one of the best Dutch economic pamphlets of the seventeenth century.[65] But though the three discourses vindicated for their writer a high place among the more liberal mercantilists, they failed to obtain their immediate object. On the 27th of August, 1608, after the peace negotiations had once been peremptorily ended by the States General, the French and English ambassadors formally proposed to them and urged upon them the opening of negotiations for a truce.[66] It is significant that on that very same day the States of Holland forbade the printing, buying, and selling, on penalty of a fine of one hundred florins, of certain "defamatory writings, unprofitable to the United Netherlands, and the good inhabitants of the same." Most of the Bye-Korf fell thus under ban, and the Naerder Bedenckingen was especially mentioned.[67] The negotiations thus decisively resolved on were prosecuted during the winter,[68] and in the next spring the

[64] Vertoogh, p. 19.

[65] I am quoting the judgment of Professor van Rees, ii., p. 95.

[66] Motley, United Netherlands, iv., 467.

[67] Van Rees, ii., p. 81, notes 2 and 3.

[68] Asher, Henry Hudson the Navigator, p. 253, says that Usselinx is most probably the person with whom President Jeannin, the French ambassador, says, in his letter of Jan. 25, 1609, to the king, that he conferred on these matters. And in the table on p. ccii., he assumes this. I do not see, however, that Jeannin speaks in particular of conference with any one person. What

famous Twelve Years' Truce was concluded, and signed on June 17, 1609.

Usselinx was always of the opinion, though, as has already been intimated, the contrary view seems now preferable, that the prospect that the West India Company would be successfully erected was one of the main reasons why Spain consented to make a truce. Years after, in a letter to the States General, he relates that Karel van Krakau, Dutch resident at the Sound (*i. e.* Elsinore), had told him that when he was in Spain the Duke of Lerma asked him whether the Netherlanders were likely to establish the West India Company, and on being told that they were, had said: "I shall certainly prevent it; we shall rather conclude a truce!" Again at Brussels, he said, the Archduke Albert had asked him how great a sum the Hollanders would probably be able to get together for the company, and on hearing his estimate, had said: "Is it possible? Then we had better make peace." On the other hand, Usselinx afterward asserted that, on the side of the Netherlands, his representations and efforts succeeded in delaying for eight months their making a truce, though unable quite to prevent it.[69]

Although by the terms of the truce the trade to such places in the Indies as Spain did not possess had been left open,

he says is, "J'ai eu plusieurs conférences avec d'autres, soit pour les voyages des Indes d' Orient ou d' Occident, ... mais, quant aux Indes d' Occident, ils tiennent tous qu'il y faut employer un plus grand appareil de forces. Il est vrai que le voyage est aussi beaucoup plus court, et ceux qui ont quelque connoissance des entreprises qu' on y peut dresser, en promettent tout bon succès, dont ils discourent avec de si bonnes raisons qu'il y a sujet d'y ajouter foi." Négociations du Président Jeannin, vol. v., p. 147, (vol. xv. of Petitot.)

[69] The latter statement is in a Memorial Van 't gene noodich is, om te kommen tot een eyndlyck Slot vande Suyder Compagnie, written to Oxenstjerna from Stralsund, Nov. 9, 1635, Bibliography, II., No. 62, (Stockholm MSS.); the former in Politiicq Discours, p. 8, and in a letter to the States General dated Hamburg, Oct. 25, 1639, (Bibliog., II., No. 79). Krakau was Commissary of the States at Elsinore previously to 1632, and was then made their resident in Denmark. Kong Christian den Fjerdes egenhaendige Breve, ed. Bricka and Fredericia, i., p. 32, n.; Schybergson, Sveriges och Hollands diplomatiska Förbindelser, 1621–1630, No. 36 of the Bidrag till Kännedom af Finlands Natur och Folk, utgifna af Finska Vetenskaps-Societeten, pp. 459, 463.

the general impression in the Netherlands was that nothing of consequence could be accomplished in the West Indies in time of peace. Usselinx, however, though hindered by this general apathy, continued to labor in behalf of the company.[70] With the approval of Count Maurice he began going about among the cities of Holland and Zealand for this object; and the States of the latter province instructed their deputies at the Hague to forward his designs.[71] Up to this time he had not been permanently settled in any place, nor had he, apparently, permanently invested his property, probably wishing to keep his capital available in order to become a principal shareholder in the West India Company.[72] But now, perhaps because the realization of that scheme began to seem remote even to his sanguine mind, he took the step, an important one, as it proved, of investing a large part of his property in one of those great engineering enterprises by which, in the old phrase, the Dutch have taken Holland; namely, in the draining of the Beemster, in North Holland.

III.—THE BEEMSTER.[73]

Mais le desseichement des palus qui doute, qu' il ne tende à l'agriculture, quād de terres inutiles on en faict de beaux champs labousrables, ou prairie de grand rapport.—J. J. SCALIGER, Discours de la ionction des Mers, etc., Opuscula, 1612.

During their centuries of brave and patient conflict with the sea, the men of Holland and Zealand had not contented themselves with waging merely a defensive warfare. Little by little they had advanced Terminus against an enemy more terrible than the Spaniards, gaining lands which their surpassing industry knew how to make valuable, and experi-

[70] Memorie aenwysende, in Van Rees, ii., App. xiv., p. 462.

[71] Summarische Erzehlung, in Arg. Gust., p. 51.

[72] Mr. de Stoppelaar's letter.

[73] For the history of the draining of the Beemster, my authority has been J. Bouman, Bedijking, Opkomst, en Bloei van de Beemster, Purmerend, 1857. I have also used the chapters bearing upon the subject in the monumental work of Mr. G. de Vries Az., Het Dijks- en Molenbestuur in Holland's Noorderkwartier, Verhandelingen der Koninklijke Akademie van Wetenschappen, afd. Letterk., deel x., especially pp. 397–473.

ence which made them the foremost hydraulic engineers in the world. The skill so acquired they, already in the fifteenth century, began to apply to interior waters also, draining lakes and reclaiming fertile tracts. Some twelve thousand acres of land had thus been reclaimed in North Holland alone during the period preceding the truce.[74] Of the bodies of water still remaining in that quarter, by far the greatest was the Beemster, which, from a sluggish stream, had, since the early part of the middle ages, grown into a lake of seven thousand acres in extent, touching the city of Purmerend with its southeastern border, and extending far on the northeast toward Hoorn and on the northwest toward Alkmaar. The dangers and losses arising from its gradual increase, and the gain of fertile land which might be made from it, had earlier caused plans for its drainage; but it was in 1607 that a company was first formed to carry it out.

The wealth and prosperity which the war had brought made the first half of the seventeenth century a period of great activity in such operations. Indeed, much of the money first subscribed for those at the Beemster is said to have come directly from the Spanish Armada, having been contributed by the sons-in-law of Pieter Pikmans, an enterprising ship-master of Hoorn, who had enriched himself by raising treasure from the sunken Spanish galleons off the coast of Ireland.[75] However this may be, in 1607 a number of prominent Hollanders, largely merchants of Amsterdam, obtained from the States of Holland a charter permitting them to drain the Beemster and possess the land so acquired. The next year a beginning was made, but in 1610 the sea broke through, and the work of the windmills had to be begun again. Usselinx was not one of the original subscribers, but now, with characteristic public spirit and enthusiasm, came forward to assist the scheme when it seemed likely to halt, and contributed by his own subscription and those of friends persuaded by him one fourth of the whole sum necessary[76]; and the work was attacked so zealously

[74] Tables in Bouman, pp. 21–23.

[75] Bouman, pp. 30, 31.

[76] Mr. Bouman in the Navorscher, ix., p. 165, copies from which were

that by July, 1612, the Beemster was dry land. Usselinx's share was a considerable one, amounting to about one fourteenth of the entire stock, and representing an investment of perhaps 130,000 florins[77]; and at once he was chosen one of the four superintendents of the largest of the four divisions.[78]

Here, then, at least until 1617,[79] in the little village planted in the midst of what was once the great lake, the colonial projector resided some part of the time. Only a part, however, for not only did he himself carry out another draining enterprise, the draining of the lake at Soetermeer, in South Holland,[80] but his efforts for the West India Company were not given up. The opposition of the peace party was still felt at every turn, and the astute advocate urged upon him the necessity of including in his company the merchants engaged in the Guinea trade. There was little likelihood of his succeeding in this, for both Oldenbarneveld and Count Maurice had just before failed to persuade the Guinea merchants to unite.[81] But though it cost him a

kindly sent me by Mr. Frederik Muller, of Amsterdam, says that his name does not appear at the Beemster until 1612. The statement of the text is based on his own declaration in the Memorie aenwysende, in Van Rees, ii., App. xiv., p. 470. In an unpublished letter of June 15, 1622, to the States General (Murphy MSS. at Albany, B. 1: 9, p. 52), he seems, doubtless on account of this reinforcement, to claim the entire credit of the operations; for he enumerates, among his services to the state, the addition of 18,000 gemeten (18,150 acres) of land to Holland.

[77] 526 morgen out of 7,576 morgen of cultivable land of stockholders; Memorie aenwysende, Van Rees, ii., p. 469; Bouman, p. 260. From Art. 35 of the conditions of allotment, Bouman, p. 296, and from the table on p. 264, the price may be estimated at 250 florins ($100) per morgen, the morgen being about two acres; the value of money was, of course, several times as great as now.

[78] In the list of shareholders, dated July 30, 1612, on pp. 299–303 of Bouman, Usselinx is named as having the office of *opperpoldermeester*. On November 1st he was elected one of the superintendents of the middle polder. Bouman, p. 135.

[79] In the Resolutions of Holland and West Friesland, April 15, 1617, he is called "Willem Usselingh, Koopman, als nu woonende in de Beemster."

[80] Memorie aenwysende, in Van Rees, ii., p. 470.

[81] *Id.*, p. 462; unpublished memorial of February 24, 1623 (Hague MSS.), Bibliog., II., No. 17.

year's labor at Amsterdam, he succeeded. Then, feeling success to be not far off, he wrote to the States of Holland, who, on the 25th of August, 1614, took the matter up once more, appointed a committee upon it, prepared a plan by which the States General might combine the Guinea trade with it, and considered some difficulties in regard to the charter, especially those raised by the East India Company.[82] Next day the States General themselves resolved "to summon Johan Eusselincx, merchant at Amsterdam, to assist in the matter of the West India Company."[83] A committee was appointed to hear him by the States of Holland; after a two hours' conference, the advocate himself sent him word "that the gentlemen had had much satisfaction in what he had told them," and he was requested to draw up a memorial to the States General.[84] Conferences with a committee of the latter ensued,[85] and a new charter was prepared.[81] But the States of Holland, soon after, concluded to let the matter wait still longer, and again the projector's hopes were dashed.

For nearly two years and a half nothing was accomplished in the matter of the company, though toward the end of 1616 Usselinx sent in a request to the States of Holland, offering to show: "1. That these United Provinces would by this company be more strengthened and secured against the King of Spain than in any other way by all their revenue; 2. That during the truce they might obtain thence more wealth than the King of Spain now did; 3. How, if the King of Spain attempts to make war, we may hold what

[82] Resolutions of Holland and West Friesland, August 25, 1614. Asher, p. 48, wrongly conjectures this to refer to the Block Company.

[83] Resolutions of the States General, August 26, 1614. I quote the resolutions of their High Mightinesses, in most cases, from the copies of extracts relating to Usselinx among the Murphy MSS. at Albany; those I have myself obtained are designated thus: (Hague MSS).

[84] Summarische Erzehlung, in Arg. Gust., pp. 51, 52; Memorial of February 24, 1623 (Bibliog., II., No. 17).

[85] Mr. de Stoppelaar, in the letter to Mr. Bodel Nyenhuis already mentioned, states, from reports in the archives of Middelburg, that the committee of the States General was occupied with the matter from August 29th to September 12th; on the 10th Usselinx was present.

we have conquered and take from him what he possesses; 4. The means readily to obtain ten millions for this purpose; 5. That all inhabitants of these provinces would derive advantage therefrom." [86]

But meanwhile a great calamity befell the projector himself, which gave a different turn to all his subsequent history. Usselinx became financially embarrassed with respect to his property at the Beemster, and finally suffered great pecuniary losses. He himself alleges that there had been several bad years at the Beemster, but this does not seem to have been the case. The principal owners and officers of that district, in a petition sent to the States of Holland the next spring, attribute his misfortunes to his own bad management and inexperience in cultivation. Whatever may have been the cause, his losses compelled him to borrow at high rates of interest, and finally to fall quite into the power of his creditors. He was obliged to go into bankruptcy, and, though at first the court of the Beemster gave him an extension of time, perhaps because it was composed of his associates there, was even compelled to find personal security besides that of his real estate, though he declares the latter to have been worth four times the amount of his debts, which seems to have been at least 153,000 florins. Five hundred and twenty-six morgen of valuable land at the Beemster (which Sir William Temple thought to be "the richest soil of the province" in his time), with eight houses and much live-stock and goods, eighty morgen at Soetermeer, and some six thousand pounds Flemish (36,000 florins) of shares in the East India Company, ought, one would think, to have been a property sufficient to warrant the court in giving the usual time to get sureties; but even this was refused.[87]

[86] This is his own summary given in the Memorie aenwysende, Van Rees, ii., p. 463; the five points at a little greater length in the Summarische Erzehlung, Arg. Gust., p. 52, and Mercurius Germaniae, p. 42, App. G, letter of Aug. 15, 1630.

[87] Memorie aenwysende, Van Rees, ii., pp. 469, 470; the date 1616 is given on p. 473. On the character of the preceding seasons at the Beemster, Bouman, pp. 141, 142, 152, 162. On the court, Bouman, pp. 166–168, De

We must no doubt make some allowance from Usselinx's accounts of the injustice to which he was subjected; yet it seems after all impossible wholly to reject the explanation which he himself gives of the obstacles and disasters he encountered, culminating in a forced sale of his land, whereby he lost, according to his own account, 300,000 florins.[88] He attributes all this to the machinations of the enemies of the company, including the Guinea merchants, and the peace party generally, with the advocate Oldenbarneveld at their head. Since he alone was at this time doing any thing to forward the project, they seized the opportunity of his pecuniary difficulties to break down his credit and drive him from the field, and especially tried to prevent his obtaining from the States of Holland a safe-conduct which would enable him, unmolested by his creditors, to prosecute his great design.

When they found that no obstacles availed against his determination, they tried, through a merchant of Amsterdam, named Goovart van Schoonhoven, to buy him off. They offered to buy in his lands or satisfy his creditors for him, lending him the money for a small rent or low rate of interest, and giving him five or six years in which to repay them, on condition that he should remain at the Beemster and trouble himself no more about the West India Company. Either at this time or a little later the government at Brussels also attempted to make terms with him; a Spanish priest named Don Pedro, who went on secret missions ("schemes of villainy," Usselinx briefly terms them) between Brussels, the Hague, and Amsterdam, made him great promises if he would desist, and still more if he would come over to the Spanish side; similar proposals were again made

Vries, Dijk- en Molenbestuur, p. 469. The amount of his debts to creditors at Amsterdam is stated at 153,000 florins in the Resolutions of Holland and West Friesland, April 15, 1617, (adopting Professor van Rees's explanation of this, ii., p. 103, n. 3, rather than that of Mr. Berg van Dussen Muilkerk, in De Gids, 1848, ii., p. 548). Sir William Temple's Works, ed. 1731, vol. 1; Observations upon the United Provinces of the Netherlands, p. 45.

[88] Mercurius Germaniae, p. 44; App. G, letter of Aug. 15, 1630; in Arg. Gust.

by a certain Jesuit. And when all this proved unavailing, the government at Brussels, as he learned, and as Isaac Massa of Haarlem afterward assured him, set a price upon his life.[89] The grounds of Oldenbarneveld's opposition were stated plainly by himself at the time of his famous trial in 1618. In reply to the question, why he paid no attention to the representations often made to him in behalf of the West India Company, he answered that he was approached by scarcely any supporters of it except two—Francken, who spoke of it chiefly as a means of damaging the Spanish naval forces, and in subsequent years Willem Usselinx, who represented its advantages as to trade,—and that, though he broached the matter at the meeting of the States of Holland, he could not think either the person proposing or the thing proposed acceptable, the person owing many thousands more than he could pay, and the trade being very uncertain. Many times during the war, he adds, he was well-disposed to the chartering of such a company, especially for providing salt; but after the conclusion of the truce he did not see how it could be done without giving new cause of war, which (under reverence and correction) he thought it behoved the Netherlanders not to do, nor to lay themselves open to dangerous reprisals from the king of Spain.[90]

It is necessary to have in mind these elements of opposition before taking up the history of the efforts of Usselinx during the next two or three years, as otherwise, even with all allowance for Dutch caution and for the slowness with

[89] Memorie aenwysende, in Van Rees, ii., pp. 469–471. Mercurius Germaniae, p. 44. Undated letter (1641 or 1642) to Oxenstjerna (Stockholm MSS.); Bibliog., II., No. 83. Since he says that Don Pedro's efforts were suggested by the prince of Portugal, their date is fixed as of about this time; for it appears from Groen van Prinsterer, Archives, ii., pp. 406, 491, that Don Emanuel's stay at Brussels occurred between December, 1615, and February, 1617. Isaac Massa was a prominent merchant who had lived much in Russia. Hist. Zeitschr., xiv., p. 247; Droysen, Gustaf Adolf, i., p. 86.

[90] Verhooren van Johan van Oldenbarnevelt, in the Berigten of the Historisch Genootschap te Utrecht, ii., 2, pp. 72–75; qu. 101 (Nov. 22, 1618). For Usselinx's views of the advocate's conduct, Memorie aenwysende of Oct. 3, 1644, in Van Rees, ii., pp. 462, 469, and the Anhang of the Auszführlicher Bericht, Arg. Gust., p. 46.

which the governmental machinery of the United Provinces naturally moved, it will not always be plain why he had so little success. From the time of his bankruptcy, too, his position is entirely changed. He is no longer able, as a successful and prosperous merchant, to urge his scheme upon the rulers with a feeling of independence and disinterestedness. From this time forward he appears before them as a needy adventurer, disinterested indeed as long as he can afford to be, but with difficulty commanding their attention, and wearying unwilling ears with incessant repetition of arguments unsupported by personal consequence and standing in the community. It was five months before his memorial to the States of Holland was read. Meanwhile he was compelled to obtain from them *sureté de corps* for six months, in order to be exempt from arrest by his creditors while working for the company; his request to have the same continued for four years was refused.[91]

IV.—THE CHARTER OF THE WEST INDIA COMPANY.

Deselve [verschillen] meest spruyten vuyt de verscheyden oochmercken die d' een en d' ander heeft gehadt in 't stellen van de voors. concepten, gelyck een yder die deselve leest daervuyt lichtelyck sal connen oordeelen.—USSELINX, Corte aenwysinge, 1620.

When the memorial of 1616 finally secured a hearing, it was referred to the States General, who appointed a committee, of which the advocate afterward became a member, to consider the matter. Usselinx set before them in a book a full discussion of the West India trade and of his plan, and believing that he had fully convinced them all, even including the advocate, made a hurried journey

[91] Resolutions of Holland and West Friesland, Feb. 25 (this refers to a continuation; but I do not find a previous grant), April 15, 1617. In the Memorie aenwysende, p. 470, speaking of an occasion when *sureté* was refused him, he says it was refused in spite of his creditors' joining in the request, "to the great surprise of all who did not understand the ground of this refusal." This instance of April 15, 1617, is the only instance of refusal that I know of, and here his creditors certainly opposed his petition. But the Memorie was written in 1644.

to Amsterdam, where one of the burgomasters sent him word that they had no time to hear him, but hoped he would do all he could at the Hague. When the committee came to report, the deputies of Holland declared that they saw no advantage in bringing the country to such expense, and that the said Eusselincx might well go away; but the members from the other provinces, who were, as already explained, mostly of the opposite party, preferred to go on. To aid this, Usselinx prepared and presented to their High Mightinesses an elaborate paper, intended not only to support the positions he had already taken, but also to show "how the revenue of the country might by these means be so increased that the people should be relieved from all extraordinary burdens without diminishing the income of the State." It was referred to the States of Holland, who would not read it. Perhaps because his *sureté de corps* in Holland had expired, he now, at the end of 1617, repaired to Zealand, first sending copies of his request of 1616 and of his recent memorial to the advocate, to the Ridderschap or College of Knights, and to each city in Holland.[92]

The year 1618 was an eventful one in the United Netherlands. As the truce drew near its end, the violence of party hatred, the mutual distrust of Maurice and Oldenbarneveld, grew more and more pronounced. The violent religious dissensions between the Arminians or Remonstrants and the Calvinists or Contra-Remonstrants, in regard to the dogma of predestination, assuming a political character because of the opposite doctrines of the two in regard to the rightful

[92] Memorie aenwysende, in Van Rees, ii., p. 463; Summarische Erzehlung, Arg. Gust., p. 52; letter of Aug. 15, 1630, in Mercurius Germaniae, p. 42; Resolutions of the States General, June 24, Aug. 8, Sept. 9, 27, Oct. 2, Dec. 16, 1617; and a brief memorial to the States of Holland, undated, but of near the end of 1617 (Bibliog., II., No. 2), one of about the same time (Sept.) to the States General (Bibliog., II., No. 1), and a long memorial of Feb. 24, 1623 (Bibliog., II., No. 17) (Hague MSS.). In the next to the last (as is also shown by the resolution of October 2d), he requests the States General to take him into their service for this business. If the book spoken of by him, as above, was a printed one, it is at any rate not to be found in Tiele or Van der Wulp.

relations of church and state, furnished an additional ground of difference to the two great parties, already divided upon so many other grounds. The Calvinist party was practically identical with the followers of the House of Orange, the advocates of centralization, of war, of democracy, of the smaller provinces as against Holland, and soon the majority of the States General, as representative of central authority, attached themselves to this party; the Remonstrants were found among the adherents of Oldenbarneveld, of Holland, of the municipal aristocracy and states' rights. The former party proposed a national synod to settle the religious differences; Holland refused to consent, declaring this inconsistent with the rights of the individual provinces, and proceeded to secure its various towns by enrolling mercenary troops; Utrecht, at the instance of Oldenbarneveld, did the same. In reply to this the stadtholder, having secured the governments of the other provinces, quietly revolutionized that of Utrecht. Holland now stood alone. On Aug. 29, 1618, he arrested Oldenbarneveld and Grotius and one of their associates. To complete the *coup d'état* and render permanent the victory of the Orange party, it remained to secure the States of Holland by purging of their Remonstrant majorities the municipal councils who deputed them. Six were already Contra-Remonstrant; backed by an armed force, the Prince proceeded to remodel the rest, one after another, and the revolution was accomplished.[93]

Meanwhile Usselinx had been busily at work in Zealand. The States of that province, after hearing him by committee, favored his scheme, and resolving, if need were, to establish his company in that province alone, he began gathering subscriptions. Even without a charter, he succeeded in obtaining subscriptions to the amount of some 300,000 florins, with the promise of half a million or so more.[94] In all this he had

[93] Motley, John of Barneveld, chs. viii., xiv.–xviii.; Mr. van der Bergh and others in the Verslagen en Mededeelingen der Koninklijke Akademie van Wetenschappen, 2de reeks, deel xii., pp. 72–96.

[94] Memorie aenwysende, in Van Rees, ii., p. 464; Summarische Erzehlung, Arg. Gust., pp. 52, 53; letter of Aug. 15, 1630, Mercurius Germaniae,

had the approval of Prince Maurice, and had apparently been in somewhat close relations with him. Early this year he planned, in concert with Prince Maurice and Prince Emanuel his brother-in-law, the claimant of Portugal, an expedition of two ships to be sent under the command of Melchior van den Kerckhove to the regions of Sierra Leone, to open up trade there. But Kerckhove was sent, by the government, to Venice as admiral of its fleet, and the Prince of Portugal conceived a dislike to one of the agents employed to negotiate with the king of Sierra Leone, and so the scheme fell through.[95]

But Usselinx remained on good terms with Prince Maurice; and of course he watched with the greatest interest the revolution which the great captain was quietly effecting this summer. Indeed, in one of his later letters he claims a considerable share in that transaction, as having advocated the resort to force as the only remedy for the diseases of the body politic. "When," he says, "his Excellency Maurice Prince of Orange, of glorious memory, had had hard words with the Advocate of Holland, Barnevelt, at a meeting of your High Mightinesses, I came to him in the afternoon to have some conversation, but found him, greatly disturbed, walking up and down in his room, and, contrary to his custom, he let me stand a long time, without speaking. Whereupon I at last took up the word, saying: 'My gracious lord, your Excellency seems to be much disturbed.' He answered: 'It is true; but have I no reason for it?' I said I did not know what reason he had. Thereupon he answered: 'It is that I fear we shall come to the worst.' I said, laughing: 'Does your Excellency *fear* that? It is what *I* hope.' 'Well,' said his Excellency, 'why do you hope that?' I answered: 'I see that disorder has gone too far to

p. 43. In an unpublished letter of June 15, 1622, (Albany MSS., B. 1: 9), he says he had been for four years busy in Zealand, preceding this time, (*i. e.*, 1614-1618). He must mean four years off and on.

[95] Aenwysinge van den Coophandel Die wt het Coninckryck Sweden sal konnen gedreuen worden, 1624; Bibliog., II., No. 21, (Stockholm MSS.) Kerckhove was sent out before the middle of June, 1618, to preserve Venice from attacks of the Neapolitans. Van der Aa, Biographisch Woordenboek, s. v.

be set right with order; we must away with it by disorder or your Excellency and the country are lost.' Thereupon his Excellency asked what advice I would give, then. I replied: 'I am no military man, but if I had three or four thousand soldiers, I should remedy it or die in the attempt.' His Excellency began to laugh, saying: 'What would you do?' I said I should do so and so, whereupon his Excellency said again: 'You are right, it must be done so, but you must not mention it.' I gave him suggestions as to answering the matter, if need were, which he afterward asked me to give him in writing."[96]

Whether or not there is much of the boastfulness of age in this assertion of influence upon great public events, it is curious to observe how closely the fortunes of Usselinx's scheme were associated with those of the party conflicts of the time. On the 16th of September, or within two or three days after it, the process of "regulating corporations" in which the Prince was engaged had been carried just far enough to secure for his party ten of the nineteen votes of their deputies in the States of Holland[97]; and on the 18th those States took up again the matter of the West India Company, gave Usselinx *sureté du corps* for three months, and, in response to the desire of the other provinces and in spite of the unwillingness of two or three of the unreconstructed muncipalities, charged the committee who in concert with deputies of the other provinces were to consider the extension of the East India Company's patent, to consult and report upon the matter of the West India Company also[98]; the next month, at the instigation of the States

[96] Letter dated Hamburg, Oct. 25, 1639, (Hague MSS.); Bibliog., II., No. 79.

[97] So I judge from the recently discovered notes of one of the members of the States General, the Jonkheer van Vervou, Enige Aenteekeningen van 't gepasseerde in de Vergadering van de Staten-Generael [1616–1620] deur Jr. Fredrich van Vervou; published by the Friesch Genootschap van Geschied-, Oudheid- en Taalkunde; Leeuwarden, 1874. From pp. 149–152 it appears that the Orange party in the States of Holland had nine votes on Sept. 15th, and got control of the vote of the nobles within the next four days.

[98] Resolutions of Holland and West Friesland, Sept. 18, 1618.

General, much the same resolution was taken, and in December the *sureté* was renewed.[99]

But in November,[100] while Usselinx was absent in Zealand, the general committee framed a charter for the West India Company, and before he could get back to the Hague, it was already resolved upon. It was far from meeting his views of what such a charter should be; those views he had embodied in a draught of his own, which he now submitted to the States General, requesting the appointment of a committee before whom he might discuss it. They appointed the same committee who had framed the other draught, but, after a series of conferences lasting five or six weeks, they were, he says, convinced that his plan was better; at any rate the States General sent copies of both draughts to the several provinces, requesting them all to report before the first of May next.[101] Of course the reports were delayed far beyond this term; indeed, the committee of members from the great maritime cities to which the States of Holland entrusted the matter made no report until July, and then reported as a substitute a charter based on the two, but closely assimilated to that of the East India Company, of which some of the committee were members, and even less satisfactory to Usselinx than the former one had been.[102] Of course, upon this there followed still further delays. We

[99] Resolutions of Holland and West Friesland, Oct. 24, (wrongly dated Oct. 23d, by Asher, p. 48), Dec. 18; Resolutions of the States General, Aug. 13, Oct. 22, Dec. 14,1618; Jan. 25, 1619, the latter request the States of Holland to extend the *sureté* still further, while Usselinx is engaged in this matter.

[100] Resolutions of the States General, Nov. 16, 1618.

[101] Memorie aenwysende, in Van Rees, ii., p. 464, (where the Albany copy reads "zes weken," Van Rees has "zes ueren," probably thinking that even of the exhaustless Usselinx the former is hardly to be believed, but the unpublished memorial of Feb. 24, 1623, in the archives at the Hague, explains this; for there his phrase is "in seer veel bijeenkomsten 5 of 6 weken gedurende"); Corte aenwysinge of Apr. 13, 1620, in Van Rees, ii, Appendix iii, pp. 410, 411 (of which there is also a copy, B. 1 : 1, at Albany); Summarische Erzehlung, Arg. Gust, p. 53; Mercurius Germaniae, letter of Aug. 15, 1630, p. 43; Resolutions of the States General, Dec. 29, 1618, Feb. 6, 1619.

[102] Corte aenwysinge of Apr. 13, 1620, in Van Rees, ii. p. 411; Memorie aenwysende, p. 464; Resolutions of Holland and West Friesland, Mar. 16, July 2, 20, 1619; memorial of Feb. 24, 1623.

may pause to note the indication that the truce was felt to be nearing its end, in the permission given by the States General at this time to various persons undertaking voyages to the West Indies to resist by arms any who tried to prevent their trading in places over which the king of Spain did not really have control.[103] Next we may take the opportunity to compare the two draughts proposed for the constitution of the company destined to play so great a part in the history of the times, to gain great naval victories, to hold Brazil, and in part to shape the future of a state now greater than the whole kingdom of the Netherlands.

The score of years preceding had been prolific in great trading and colonizing companies. The English East India Company had been founded in 1600, the Dutch in 1602, those of France in 1604, 1611, and 1615, the Danish in 1616, the Virginia Company in 1606. But undoubtedly the models for the charter framed by the maritime cities of Holland for the West India Company were that which had been framed for it in 1607, and that of the already great and prosperous East India Company. The regions in which the company was to have a monopoly of trade for forty-eight years were the west coast of Africa, both east and west coasts of America, the islands of the Atlantic, and whatever southern regions there might be between the meridian of the Cape of Good Hope and that of the east end of New Guinea; but the salt trade to Punta de Araya was, as a concession to the cities of North Holland, specially excepted. The same rights of alliance, war, and colonization were granted as before; virtually the same provisions were made as to oaths, officers and soldiers, tolls and licenses. The arrangement of the government of the company in local chambers and a general board was to subsist as before, the States General being, however, represented in the latter; the directors were to be chosen by the magistracy of the province from among those who had subscribed a number of thousands of florins differing in the different chambers, and to be paid by a percentage on the trade of the company; their renewal

[103] Arend, Algemeene Geschiedenis des Vaderlands, iii : 3, p. 428.

was to be arranged by vote. Provision, but somewhat loose provision, was made for audit. The regulation of the manner of taking subscriptions was left to the provincial authorities. The directors were not during their term of office to have any mercantile dealings with the company. The promise of a million florins from the state was made conditional upon the event of the company's becoming involved in war. In other respects the charter differed but slightly from that of 1607.

The draught prepared by Usselinx differed in a marked manner from this. The variations sprang, as he himself said, from a difference of purpose. It seemed to him that the other plan tended too much to the advantage of the directors, too little to that of the stockholders and of the company at large. It rested, too, upon a mistaken view of the work to be done in America, which was not like the task set before those who had to do with the kingdoms of the East, but consisted rather in building up trade by occupying the land, establishing colonies and new republics, stimulating agriculture and mining, securing justice and freedom and good government, converting and winning over the natives. In the framing of the charter of the East India Company the States were hampered by regard for the conflicting rights and desires of companies already in the field; here they had *carte blanche* to carry out a great programme of colonial statesmanship. It is a conspicuous sign of the great mental power which, in spite of his occasionally tedious prolixity, cannot fail to be recognized in Willem Usselinx, that he should, thus early in the history of colonization, have arrived at ideals of colonial policy so advanced and so statesmanlike as those indicated by his programme. The opportunities which America presented for the realization of such designs he set forth to the States General forcibly and with knowledge; and he declared his belief that this enterprise was the most important that had ever been undertaken in the world.

This design of working for the benefit of the whole country and founding a colonial empire, rather than seeking merely the advantage of individual merchants, or placing

chief reliance on warlike attacks upon the Spanish possessions, produced most of the differences in the patent of Usselinx; many others, matters of detail yet important, were the product of his remarkable insight into commercial affairs; others, again, arose from his religious zeal. It was this which caused him to give the honor of God and the promotion of true religion a prominent place among the declared objects of the company, and to propose the establishment of a council or college of theologians, who should attend to the supplying of the company with a sufficient number of godly ministers and teachers, and should instruct in religion and learning not only the colonists and their children but also the Indians.[104]

The territory of the company ought, he believed, to include the east coast of Africa and the whole of Terra Australis, views which were embodied in the great scheme of his later years; but the salt trade might well enough be excepted, as well as the lands of America to the north of Virginia. It is not a little singular that to the failure of the government to adopt this last suggestion of his he owes most of his interest to the American world. As to period, he considered twelve years quite long enough for such a charter to run; it might at the end of that time be extended. His charter regulated the mode of subscription with much greater minuteness, and provided a stricter and sounder method of audit, carried out by the chief stockholders. The number of directors in each chamber was to equal one for every two hundred thousand florins subscribed at that place; they were to be elected by those stockholders who had shares to the amount of twelve hundred florins from among those who had invested eighteen hundred, and to have an annual salary of a thousand florins each; all which was a much more democratic arrangement, and much more favorable to the interests of the stockholders. As to the number of chambers, there was to be one in every place where subscriptions amounting to one eighth of the whole

[104] According to Van Rees, ii., p. 117, this was the subject of the memorial to the synod of Dort, mentioned in one of his letters.

were received; but the effort was made to extend some of the benefits arising from the possession of a chamber to places subscribing somewhat less than this; both these arrangements, he thought, would give a local stimulus to subscriptions.

An important part of his scheme was the provision that the members of the company should elect from among their own body a certain number of nobles and others to form a Council of the Indies, of which he intended the Prince of Orange to be the head, which should have charge of such matters as alliances, the levying of troops, the appointment of governors and making of laws, and in general the political functions of the company; any foreign prince or republic subscribing 800,000 florins should be entitled to be represented by a member in this council, and a committee of its members should attend the general assembly of nine which constituted the central board of the company. These matters of state, and the protection of the interests of the settlers, could not, he thought, safely be intrusted to merchants only, as Lord Bacon, in his essay on plantations, urges that the ruling body should contain "rather noblemen and gentlemen, than merchants, for they look ever to the present gain;" while the grant of privileges to other States would draw thence not only subscriptions, but a supply of immigrants. The suggestion that otherwise they may erect companies of their own, is of interest in view of his subsequent history. The colonists were to have free institutions, but were to pay taxes to the home government, were to trade with the United Netherlands only, and were to have no manufactures to compete with those of the mother country. Instead of the governmental subsidy, the States General were to give a general promise of protection.[105]

[105] The draught prepared by Usselinx is printed in Van Rees, ii., Appendix ii., pp. 384–408; his explanation and defence of it is contained in the Corte aenwysinge van de voornaemste verschillen tusschen, etc., of April 13, 1620, printed in Van Rees, ii., Appendix iii., pp. 408–436. The provisions of the charter framed by the maritime cities of Holland, in so far as they differed from those of the charter finally granted, are made known by this document or by Prof. Van Rees' annotations of it. He discusses the two at pp. 110–124.

No doubt the plan of Usselinx was based on ideas of colonial trade and policy more advanced than those underlying the other plan. But it was far less likely to win acceptance. The patient building up of a colonial empire, the slow gains of ordinary commerce, were not so much the objects of those entering the company and of those now deciding its form, as personal advantage, warlike measures, attacks on Spanish possessions, and the obtaining of rich booty. And the more the objects of the framers became political, and the more they approached those of the East India Company, the more likely it was that the form they gave it should bear that aristocratic character which the other institutions of the provinces exhibited, and should resemble closely that of the East India Company. And the province of Holland would favor an arrangement of chambers which secured its preponderance, and especially dislike such an institution as a Council of Indies, with Prince Maurice at its head.

For the next two years most of Usselinx's efforts were given to the attempt to secure the adoption of his draught as the charter of the company. Much after the first of May, 1619, indeed much after the first of May, 1620, the matter was still under discussion, and he was experiencing, to use his own phrase, the difficulty of bringing many heads under one hat.[106] The magistrates of the maritime towns opposed him, wishing a patent which should secure to them as many advantages as the East India Company did. Towns subscribing little opposed the distribution of the chambers and directors according to amount of subscription. The magistrates of one town, he says, told him there should never be a company unless they had a voice in its management. Some wanted to appropriate the information he had acquired, and then deprive him of the credit; others, from pride or from meanness, would not acknowledge assistance received from him; still others, whom he himself suspected of being "sore wounded with Spanish pistoles," accused him of having been bribed because he opposed the favorite plan of charter.[107]

[106] Ausszführlicher Bericht, in Arg. Gust., p. 10.

[107] Anhang dieses aussführlichen Berichts, in Arg. Gust., pp. 46, 47.

Peculiarly unhappy were the effects of his impoverishment. For a long time he would not ask for any recompense for his services to the state, though his friends advised it; for he feared to bring odium upon his great design and impede its success.[108] But it seems likely that at some time during the year 1619 the last remnants of his property were lost,[109] and henceforth much of his effort was expended in pitiable and generally vain attempts to obtain from unwilling boards of magistrates, by importunate appeals, some grants of money for his support. Great promises, he says, had been made him, — that he should be made a duke, a count, or one of the greatest lords of the land, if he brought this scheme to pass.[110] Yet when, in February of this year, he presented to the States General a declaration, in which he estimated his expenses during his long period of attendance upon the committee at 3,796 guilders, they voted that, since he had given much information and been of much use, they would give him 1,000 Carolus guilders, to be repaid to their treasurer by the West India Company when chartered, or when the declarant's further pretensions should be disposed of by them. Further requests, in May, in November, in December, in January, were entirely disregarded, or discussed without result. As a specimen, on the 21st of December there was further deliberation about his request of 1,600 guilders, and it was resolved that he should be summoned whenever his help was needed. On the 25th of July, 1620, on the earnest recommendation of his Excellency, that care should be taken of Willem Eusselincx on account of his serious situation and the great services rendered by him in furthering the West India Company, they granted him 1,000 Carolus guilders, 500 to be paid then, and the

[108] Letter of Aug. 15, 1630, Mercurius Germaniae, p. 44, in Arg. Gust.

[109] The States General, by a resolution of Feb. 6, 1619, give him *sureté de corps* for one year, that he may travel in Brabant, Flanders, etc. In the Resolutions of the States of Holland and West Friesland, July 23, 1619, he is given *sureté* till their next meeting. After this time I do not find such grants. This I take as an indication that before another year came he had finally been compelled to give up all the property he had so far retained.

[110] Mercurius Germaniae, p. 43.

rest within six months.[111] Meanwhile, as if these disappointments and humiliations were not enough, the States of Holland refused to examine his arguments in favor of his own draught, and by March the other patent was decisively approved by the States General as well.[112]

We are told that Abraham Sixt, embassador of the elector palatine Frederick, contributed to this decision by urging upon them the adoption of the more warlike plan, as a means of assisting the Protestant cause in the Bohemian war.[113] The incident is characteristic of the new relations which, henceforward for nearly a generation, the politics of the United Provinces were to bear to the events going on elsewhere in Europe. The first part of the eighty years' war for independence, though connected at many points with occurrences outside the Netherlands, did not as a whole form part of any one great European movement; the second part, that lasting from the conclusion of the twelve years' truce to the peace of Westphalia, was in reality one phase of the terrible European struggle known as the Thirty Years' War. The conflict between anarchy and despotism had already begun in the empire in 1618, and while the two draughts for the charter of the West India Company were being discussed, Ferdinand had become emperor, the elector palatine had been chosen king of Bohemia, and the combination for his overthrow was being formed. In all these events the United Provinces had the most direct and vivid interest. The cause of Protestantism in Bohemia was felt to be their cause, the cause of the German Calvinists especially enlisted the sympathy of the party now ruling, and the elector palatine was the nephew of Prince Maurice and Count Frederick Henry. But, still more, the central fact of Netherland policy

[111] Resolutions of the States General, Feb. 11, May 25, Nov. 27, Nov 30, Dec. 21, 1619, Jan. 16, July 25, 1620. They had not paid these 1,000 guilders in Nov., 1622, memorial, App. x., in Van Rees, ii., p. 453. The guilder or florin = 40 cents.

[112] Resolutions of Holland and West Friesland, Dec. 17, 1619. Sir Dudley Carleton's Letters, p. 454. The Holland Resolutions of Mar. 4, 12, 18, 20, 1620, show the same.

[113] Arend, Algemeene Geschiedenis des Vaderlands, iii: 3, pp. 428, 433.

at this time was that the truce had nearly expired, and was evidently not to be renewed. All decisions in public matters must therefore be made with an eye to the approaching renewal of hostilities. Hence it was that this spring (1620), on the one hand, the States sent subsidies and promised to send troops to the princes of the Union, as they had been doing to the Bohemians [114]; and, on the other hand, framed for the company a charter according to the more warlike designs of the maritime cities of Holland, in preference to that of Usselinx.

It was hardly to be expected that they should do otherwise. The ardent and intense mind of the projector was filled with his great designs. Year after year he had labored for them, instant in season and out of season, with an importunity which he himself confesses; a few years later he computed that he had urged his views at one hundred conferences.[115] He presented them at forty or fifty meetings of committees of the States General alone. He had exhibited them so fully and so cogently to Count Maurice and Count William that the latter finally sent him word that he need send him no more arguments upon the subject, as he understood it thoroughly and would heartily help; which Usselinx records with apparently no suspicion that it was not exclusively a tribute of commendation.[116] All this betokens a mind which, however strong and acute, had allowed one matter to occupy too large a part of its horizon. The rulers of a whole country had to see things in better proportion, to care for many other interests beside those of West India commerce and future colonial empire. The struggle between Ferdinand and Frederick in Bohemia, the intervention of Maximilian, the campaign ending with the battle of the White Hill, the policy of the king of England, the doings of Bethlen Gabor, the course followed by the princes of the

[114] Gardiner, Prince Charles and the Spanish Marriage, i., pp. 307, 327. Relations between England and Germany, 1619–1620 (Camden Soc.), p. 170. Gindely, Geschichte des dreissigjährigen Krieges, iii., p. 53.

[115] Unpublished memorial of Feb. 24, 1623; (Bibliog., II., No. 17).

[116] Unpublished letter of Nov. 6, 1622 (Albany MSS., B. 1 : 11); letter of Aug. 15, 1630, Mercurius Germaniae, p. 43, in the Argonautica Gustaviana.

Union, the march of Spinola from the Spanish Netherlands into the Palatinate, and their own efforts to keep a close watch upon the movements of the latter, lest they themselves be attacked,—all these, far more than the affairs of the West Indies, occupied during this year the attention of their High Mightinesses.[117] Yet it is perhaps worthy of note that in August, the king of England having twenty ships ready for an expedition against the Mediterranean pirates, they urged him rather to employ them in an attack upon the Spanish treasure-house in the Indies, and so compel the recall of Spinola from the Palatinate.[118]

On the 13th of April Usselinx presented to the States General a long discourse upon the principal differences between his charter and that now virtually decided on, in which he argues vigorously in support of his own projects, and incidentally sets forth the inexpediency of giving attacks upon Brazil and upon the silver fleet an important place among the designs of the company, since the hope of valuable assistance from either Portuguese, Jews, or blacks was vain, and the chances of capturing the annual fleets were too uncertain for reliance.[119] But neither this nor an amended draft given in later, nor a subsequent remonstrance, seems to have had any effect.[120] During the summer—the same summer in which the Pilgrim Fathers were departing from Holland,—he prepared and, between the middle of August and the middle of November, gave in to the States a paper in which he adopted a tone somewhat more favorable to the warlike views held by others, though at the same time

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[117] Vervou, Aenteekeningen, pp. 233–272 *passim*, Gindely, iii., p. 53, 68–71, 290.

[118] Gardiner, Prince Charles and the Spanish Marriage, i., p. 341.

[119] This paper (Albany copies, B. 1 : 1) bears the title, a misnomer so far as length is concerned, Corte aenwysinge van de voornaemste verschillen tusschen 't concept van octroy of West Indien dat bij de Hoog Mogende Heeren, mynheeren de Staaten Generael inde maent van Februario anno 1619, aen de respective Provincien is gesonden ende tgene daerna by de gecommitteerde uit de groote Zee Steden van Hollandt ende Westvrieslandt is beraemt. It has been printed by Van Rees as Appendix iii. to vol. ii., pp. 408–432.

[120] Resolutions of the States General, May 5, July 22, Dec. 5, 1620.

he adhered to his opinions as to the company's government.[121] He urged in this paper that the Spaniards would make every effort to defer the erection of such a company until the ending of the truce, that then it would prove difficult to start it, and that therefore it ought to be taken in hand at once, in order to secure sufficient resources to make the attack on the Spanish possessions in the Indies an effectual one; the more, that the Spaniards now had occupation in Germany. Directors, he thought, ought not to be chosen till all the subscriptions were in, nor ought the progress of the affair to be endangered by fruitless waiting for unanimity upon the question of the inclusion of the salt trade, about which certain cities of North Holland, especially Hoorn, were at this time making much difficulty.[122]

There were still other difficulties about conceding the possession of a fifth chamber to Friesland and Groningen, about the subsidy to be given by the States General and their share of the profits, and about exemption from tolls. Certain of the other provinces upheld Usselinx's plan of a Council of the Indies, but the States of Holland effectually opposed it. As to his plan for allowing foreign princes or states to subscribe and be represented by a director, it was compromised by allowing them to subscribe in the name of some citizen of the United Provinces. A fifth chamber, to

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[121] This paper is summarized in an unpublished memorial of Feb. 24, 1623 (Hague Archives). Its date is fixed by the phrases "Met dit werck voort te vaeren dewijle d'oorloge in Duytselandt was ontsteken ende den Spagniaert daer werck hadde; quaeme sijne Mayesteyt van Bohemen te boven soo souden wij," etc., whence it appears to have been written after Spinola's march on Mainz and before the battle of the White Hill. It is stated to have been afterward printed; perhaps it is identical with the "boeck, n° 30, in handen van den heer Advokaet Wevelinckhoven . . . gestelt om te corrigeren of det het mochte gedruckt worden," mentioned in the Memorie aenwysende of Oct. 3, 1644, Van Rees, ii., p. 464. It does not seem to correspond with any thing in Tiele or Van der Wulp. I ought to add that it is not quite certain from Usselinx's words that all the above arguments were used in this one discourse. In the same unpublished memorial he speaks also of a memorial handed in in September, 1620.

[122] Arend, Algemeene Geschiedenis des Vaderlands, iii: 3, pp. 666–71.

have one ninth of the capital, was at last reluctantly conceded to Friesland and Groningen; but it was resolved not to allow them to make this a precedent for claiming similar privileges in the East India Company, when the time came for the renewal of its charter, the discussions in regard to which had much effect in delaying the formation of the West India Company and some influence upon the provisions of its charter.[123]

By October those provisions were regarded as fully determined, and it remained only to decide upon the best means of getting subscriptions and setting the company in motion. The deliberations and delays in regard to these matters, the consultations with experts, the composing of still remaining differences, occupied the entire winter; and even when May 1, 1621, had been fixed upon as the day for the issue of the charter, and orders had been given to choose directors, a sudden difficulty with Zealand, which claimed compensation for the absorption of its tobacco plantation upon the Amazon, together with a desire to get substantial help from the East India Company, caused a postponement. It was accordingly on the third of June, 1621, that the company for which Usselinx had so long labored, finally came into being, though in a form widely differing from that which he had desired.[124]

Aside from such readjustment as the addition of a fifth chamber made necessary, the charter finally adopted was nearly identical with the draught already described, which the maritime towns had prepared. The duration of the patent was fixed at twenty-four years, instead of forty-eight; the renewal of the directors was to be carried out by lot; there was to be a governor-in-chief of the company's colo-

[123] Resolutions of Holland and West Friesland, March 4, 12, 18, 20, Aug. 14, Sept. 19, Dec. 19, 1620. Laspeyres, Volkswirthschaftliche Anschauungen, pp. 67–72.

[124] F. v. Vervou, Aenteekeningen, p. 267. Resolutions of Holland and West Friesland, Oct. 15, Nov. 6, Dec. 4, 18, 19, 1620, Jan. 7, 21, 22, 24, March 9, Apr. 8, 20, May 26, 1621, and one which comes to me from Leiden dated June 26, 1621, but which, from its contents, must be of date between June 9th and June 15th.

nial possessions; and the promise of subsidy from the States was made unconditional.[125]

One of the provisions of this charter has been so thoroughly misunderstood that a brief digression, to set forth its real meaning, may perhaps be forgiven, as it not only has an important bearing on the history of New Netherland, but also furnishes a curious illustration of carelessness of research on the part of historical writers, and of their habit of following one another, as the saying is, like sheep over a wall.[126]

The second article of the charter, among other provisions, contains the following: "Moreover, they may advance the peopling of fruitful and unsettled parts, and do all that the service of these lands, and the profit and increase of trade shall require."[127] Now, in Appendix A, of O'Callaghan's "New Netherland," vol. i., this quite different translation appears: "Moreover, they *must* advance the peopling of *those* fruitful and unsettled parts, and do all that the service of *those* countries," etc., "shall require." This represents it as obligatory upon the company to do what in reality it was simply permitted to do, if it chose; and makes a reference to definite "parts," where the charter contains none. Any one familiar with the phraseology of Dutch public papers of that time, and noticing the context here, will further conclude that "der Landen" refers to the United Provinces, and not to future colonies, for whose interests neither States nor company would be likely in that age to take quite so much care in advance. It is of some importance that the unfortunate and much-abused company should be thus vindicated

[125] A copy of the printed Octroy, 1621, is in the Library of Congress.

[126] The fact that I have spoken of this before, in an article on the "Origin and Development of the Municipal Government of New York City," published in the *Magazine of American History* for May, 1882, makes me only the more desirous to speak of it now again; for, through the loss of a corrected proof in the mail, what I then tried to say on this point came out in so mangled a form as to be scarcely intelligible.

[127] "Voorts populatie van vruchtbare ende onbewoonde Quartieren mogen bevorderen ende alles doen dat den dienst der Landen," etc., "sal vereysschen." This provision occurred, in almost the same words, in the maritime cities' draught, and in that of Usselinx (in which it formed part of Art. lv.); also in that of 1606 (Meteren, p. 527 d).

from the charge of breach of their charter, added to the indisputable one of mismanagement, for on the above mistranslation have been founded statements in popular works to the effect that the company pledged themselves to colonize the new territories.

The note at the foot of p. 91 of O'Callaghan, which directs attention to this appendix, is as follows:

"For this charter, see Appendix A.; also, De Laet, Hist. ofte Jaerlyck Verhael. Aitzema, Historie, I., 62; Johan Thasseus' [*sic*] Zeepolitie; 'een seer net ende curieus Boeck,' says Aitzema; Hazard's State Papers, i., 121. Groot Placaet Boek, i., 566."

Now the Octroy, edition of 1621, the Octroy mette Ampliatien, and Accoord, of 1642, De Laet, Aitzema, and Tjassens, all agree in giving the text as above translated. The mistranslations are, however, to be found word for word in Hazard, who also, in the Accoord, for Article xi., which refers to the qualifications of Principal Adventurers in the company, inserts by mistake the entirely irrelevant Article xi. of the Octroy, which peculiarity we see repeated in O'Callaghan, i., App. B. This fact (strengthened perhaps by the slight inaccuracy of the quotation from Aitzema, above) makes one suspect that Dr. O'Callaghan did not look at, or at least did not carefully examine, the Dutch authorities which he cites, but that the translation, modestly placed after them, is the real source of his own translation, the same throughout as Hazard's. Other writers have followed him, as he followed Hazard; and the company has paid the penalty.[128]

But to return to Usselinx. The final issue of the charter did not stop his efforts to have it amended; that same month he presented to the States General two remon-

[128] *E. g.*, Mrs. Martha J. Lamb says, in her History of New York City, i., p. 46: "In the newly-drafted constitution of the West India Company was a clause by which the corporation would be obligated to people the so-called Dutch territory of North America." Yet in the note at the foot of p. 47, she also refers to De Laet. The same error is repeated in the last history of New York, that by Hon. Ellis H. Roberts, in the American Commonwealth series, i., p. 32.

strances upon the subject, particularly requesting in the case of the second that it be discussed and resolved upon in the presence of His Excellency.[129] We cannot help smiling at his urgency, and may well believe that the States were thoroughly wearied by his importunity. But on the other hand it affords some evidence of a character essentially high-minded and unselfish, that we see him, in spite of the fact that his plans had been rejected, devoting himself at once, this very summer, to furthering the interests of the company by collecting subscriptions for it. In October he reports that he has obtained subscriptions to the amount of 40,000 guilders, and promises of 600,000 more. But, he says, to get an amount that shall be really adequate, it will be necessary to make changes in the charter; and he proceeds again to urge the amendments he had suggested in his paper of a year before, and, as that memorial is short (it covers forty-three pages of foolscap in the copy at Albany), he wishes it might now be read again.[130] The occasion which Usselinx took for making this report was a meeting of some of the managers of the West India Company for consultation as to the undertaking. It is plain from the resolutions of Holland during this part of the year that little progress had yet been made. Traders to Guinea and to Virginia, *i. e.*, to the region of the Hudson River, received permission to continue, up to the next July, their voyages to regions embraced within the company's patent, and though arrangements were decided on for the election of directors, and efforts made to come to some accommodation with the cities of North Holland upon the salt trade, little more was actually done than to enjoin all officials to use their influence in urging more rapid subscriptions.[131]

To Usselinx, with his strong sympathy for the poor, to

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[129] Resolutions of the States General, June 5, 10, 1621.

[130] Unpublished memorial, dated Oct. 7, 1621, a copy of which is at Albany (B. 1 : 2). Resolutions of States General, Oct. 7, 1621 (Hague MSS.), Nov. 1 (Albany).

[131] Resolutions of Holland and West Friesland, Sept. 8, 13, 22, 28, 30, Oct. 13, Dec. 2, 16, 17, 1621.

give any company a monopoly of the salt trade seemed a monstrous sacrifice of the interests of the country at large to those of a few self-seeking merchants; he opposed the project strongly in three memorials this winter, urging that the damage to the interests of the country as a whole would not, as was asserted, be compensated by the additional subscriptions which would be attracted to the company by this increase of its chances of profit.[182] But one who is writing

[182] The memorials of Dec. 3, 1621 and Jan. 21, 1622 are printed in Van Rees, vol. ii., pp. 433–440; Mercurius Germaniae, p. 43. A previous memorial of Nov. 6th seems to have been lost. It is mentioned in the unpublished memorial of June 15, 1622 (Albany, B. 1 : 9), and in the Resolutions of the States-General, Nov. 11, 1621 (Hague MSS.). Laspeyres, p. 75, thinks that on this point Usselinx expresses one view in his memorials to the States General and another in pamphlets addressed to the people; but there are not, in my opinion, sufficient reasons for attributing to Usselinx the anonymous pamphlets to which he refers. This may be as good a place as any for giving my reasons for not attributing to Usselinx certain pamphlets which Prof. Laspeyres, either in his bibliography or on p. 75 (the inclusion of B. 53 in his index at p. 330 is, I am sure, a misprint for B. 55), assigns to him. These are six in number: Anderde Discours by Forma van Missieve, 1622, Lasp. 32, Asher 95, Tiele 1931; Derde Discours by Forma van Missive, 1622, Lasp. 33, Asher 96, Tiele 1932; Levendich Discours vant ghemeyne Lants Welvaert, 1622, L. 40, A. 99, T. 1933; Voortganck van de W. I. Compagnie, 1623, L. 54, A. 100, T. 1984; Redenen waeromme de W. I. Co. dient te trachten het Land van Brazilien den Con. v. Sp. te ontmachtigen, 1624; Examen over het Vertooch, 1637, T. 2607, 2608. Let me remark in the first place that the enumeration of his writings, printed and unprinted, which Usselinx makes in his memorial of Oct. 3, 1644, Van Rees, ii., 461–475, is so full that the presumption is against including any pamphlets not there mentioned, though the Korte Onderrichtinghe and Politiicq Discours are evidently his.

The Anderde Discours I reject because, first, the writer's style is not quite that of Usselinx; second, he argues much in behalf of the East India Company, which Usselinx would not have done; third, he shows that he knew Sibylla, Duchess of Cleves, and Count Bucquoy, and I think we should know of it otherwise if Usselinx did; again, because he at times follows very closely, showing little originality, the arguments of the first Missive or Discours of 1621, to which his is a second (Tiele 1869, 1870); but chiefly because in that first Missive, of which Laspeyres (p. 295, No. 32) does not know, at pp. 13–21, the writer copies almost entirely the exposition of the West India trade which Usselinx gave in his Vertoogh hoe nootwendich in 1608; that he should not only submit to this without protest, but write an approving and supplementary pamphlet, is hard for any acquaintance of Usselinx to believe. The Derde Discours argues that the salt trade should be included, and that the directors should be chosen by the provincial States; views exactly contrary to those of

the history, not of the company, but of Usselinx, need not follow this matter of the salt trade further than to say that it was in fact, so far as Punta de Araya was concerned, included in the charter, and that the dissensions with Hoorn thence arising were not allayed during the remaining period of his stay in his native country.[133]

Another matter, of greater importance to the subsequent history of the company, comes also into prominence in one of these memorials. This is the project of an expedition for the conquest of Brazil, and the arguments urged against it by Usselinx at this and other times are worthy of attention.[134] At the time, he tells us later, the women at the wash-benches and the children in the lanes were already talking of its advantages; but he stoutly opposed it in seven

Usselinx. If my arguments against the Anderde Discours are sound, we must also reject the Levendich Discours. I know of no copy in this country; but through the kindness of Dr. du Rieu, librarian of the University of Leiden, I have been provided with a transcript of it; it is plainly by the writer of the Anderde Discours, and apparently by an Antwerper. As to the Voortganck, it is too distinctly modest, and not bright and interesting enough in style, nor does it display sufficiently detailed knowledge of the subject; the printer's preface indicates a stockholder as the author; Van Rees, ii., p. 133, n. 2, has given still other reasons. The Redenen waeromme cannot be attributed to Usselinx. For by the title it is a part of the proposals made to the prince and a committee of the States General on April 4, 5, 6, 1623, by Jan Andries Moerbeeck; and if this is argued to be a pseudonym of Usselinx, a preface signed Sept. 6, 1624, when he was out of the country, is enough to disprove it. Moreover, he was opposed to attacking Brazil; and there are other contradictions. See also Van Rees, ii., p. 182, n. 1. As to the Examen, I can only say that it does not sound to me like Usselinx's writing.

[133] Resolutions of Holland and West Friesland, Jan. 10, 18, 21, 24, March 23, April 13, 14, 19, 20, 21, 23, 26, 28, May 3, 6, 12, 13, Sept. 27, Oct. 26, 1622; March 9, Dec. 5, 1623; May 14, July 17, 1624. The patent of June 10, 1622, granting the inclusion of the salt trade, is given in De Laet, Historie ofte Jaerlijck Verhael, where may also be found an additional charter of Feb. 23, 1623, confirming this and slightly amending the form of government, and the regulations made June 21, 1623, by agreement between the directors and the principal stockholders.

[134] Corte aenwysinge of Apr. 13, 1620, Van Rees, ii. p. 419; memorial of Jan. 21, 1622, *id.*, pp. 437, 438; unpublished memorial of Feb. 24, 1623, (Hague MSS.); another of June 4, 1622, is there alluded to; the Anhang dieses ausführlichen Berichts, in Arg. Gust., pp. 44, 45; Mercurius Germaniae, p. 17.

or eight memorials, declaring that it was not a thing to be undertaken with a small force, "no cat to be taken hold of without gloves," being the strongest part of the king's dominions. To obtain it would be a good thing; but to attack it with a few troops would only secure to them the ashes of plantations, with the certainty of an expensive war by sea and land to maintain the slight foothold acquired. They need not expect that the Portuguese would, out of enmity to the Spaniards, side with the heretic Netherlanders, since thus they would cut themselves off from their own native country; nor look for assistance from their slaves; nor put any trust in the promises made there by the Jews, a race "faithless and pusillanimous, enemies to all the world and especially to all Christians, caring not whose house burns so long as they may warm themselves at the coals," who "would rather see a hundred thousand Christians perish than suffer the loss of a hundred crowns." It will be seen that Usselinx had not lost the vigorous intolerance of his youth; but neither, on the other hand, had he lost his insight; the difficulties of which he speaks are to a great extent the very ones which caused the failure of the first Dutch attack on Brazil, and indeed in part the same which eventually brought to an unsuccessful issue the longer occupation which ensued upon the expedition of 1630.[135]

But the affairs of the company were already quite out of the control of Usselinx. The States General and the States of Holland seem to have read with commendable patience the seventeen or eighteen memorials which he sent in this year, and gave him audience at least four times; but they rejected all suggestions of change in the charter.[136] Most of

[135] Asher, pp. xxi.–xxiii.; Van Rees, ii., pp. 180–212, *passim*. It is, from what has been said, evidently a mistake to attribute to Usselinx the Advies tot Aanbeveling van de Verovering van Brazilië door de W. I. Co., printed in the Kronijk of the Historisch Genootschap te Utrecht, 27 (1871), pp. 228–256, dated Amsterdam, Sept. 12, 1622. The editors say that its arguments are contrary indeed to the opinions held by Usselinx in 1620, but that by 1622 the renewal of the war had changed matters. But they are directly contrary also to what I have shown to have been his opinions in Jan. and June, 1622, in February, 1623, and in 1625; see preceding note.

[136] As to the memorials, see that of Nov., 1622, Van Rees, ii., p. 454; eight

his efforts with them this year were devoted to securing a recompense for the services which he had rendered to the country. He expatiates repeatedly upon the magnitude of those services; he hints that he has secrets to reveal of the highest importance to the success of the company, that indeed he has withheld the best suggestions, which will be divulged only when his claims are settled. Those claims were certainly not small, though, as he points out in an unpublished memorial, "the Indies have given Spain dukes, marquises, counts, knights, nobles, and rich men," or grandees. What he desired was, first, two per cent. of all the conditional subscriptions he might obtain, and four per cent. of the subscriptions secured unconditionally; as the capital was intended to be of ten million guilders, and did in fact at the outset reach six millions, this alone was a large sum. Second, he desired to have ten per cent. of the net revenue to the state from the West Indies, otherwise than from the state subsidy; the king of Spain, he says, sometimes gives his governors twenty per cent. He desired, thirdly, to be assured of one half of all the brokerage of the company's business; and finally, to have suitable employment as their agent.

These claims, first made to the States General in January, were repeated to the States of Holland in April, with an additional request for three thousand guilders in advance. The States of Holland, warned by the Prince of Orange that this man could do them much service if well treated and much harm otherwise, resolved with characteristic caution to see what could be done for him without burdening the state and to consult with the other provinces as to what provision should be made, and meanwhile gave him a thousand guilders in cash. He thought they were on the point of agreeing to his terms; but, as so often, his expectations proved over-sanguine, and a few months later he is glad to

(or nine) of the memorials of this year are still extant; Bibliography, II., Nos. 7–15. The hearings were in January (Albany MSS., B. 1:9); in April (Resolutions of Holland, Apr. 14th); in June (Resolutions of States General, June 23d), (Hague MSS.); and in September (*ibid.*, Sept. 9th).

reduce the first item of his claim to two per cent. of what was subscribed above five millions, and to accept the profits which such a part of the stock might obtain, instead of the principal; also to receive, instead of half the brokerage, one fourth, less the costs. At the same time he expressed his unwillingness to go on collecting subscriptions, and his belief that no adequate amount would be subscribed, (only two millions had yet been obtained), unless the constitution of the company was amended as he wished it to be. This he declared could be done (by a process of very loose construction, it must be said) without altering the terms of the charter already granted.[187]

How low the fortunes of Usselinx had at this time sunk may be seen from the fact that, desiring to strengthen his applications by securing the influence of Prince Maurice, as well as to lay before him his suggestions as to the management of the company, he had to ask the States General for the small sum of one hundred and fifty guilders ($60) for his journey to the Prince. A day or two later he urges that after all his labors he be not left in so poor a condition as during these last two years, but at least his expenses paid. They had given him the hundred and fifty guilders, but as to any thing further, they resolved that he should first go to His Excellency; if the latter's approval were secured, they would see what could be done.[188] The Prince was at this time with the army in the southern part of the country, where he had been watching the operations of Spinola in his siege of Bergen-op-Zoom. For the truce had ended a

[187] Memorial of Jan. 22, 1622, Van Rees, ii., App. vi., pp. 440–442; Resolutions of Holland and West Friesland, Apr. 20th, 23d, (Mr. Berg v. Dussen Muilkerk, Gids, 1849, I, pp. 709, 710, mentions these as of April 19th, 26th); Summarische Erzehlung, in Arg. Gust., p. 53; Resolutions of States General, June 15th; unpublished memorial of that date, Albany B. 1 : 9; three undated memorials, printed in Van Rees, ii., as Appendices vii., viii., ix., pp. 442–453, and identical with Alb. B. 1 : 8, and B. 1 : 6, and B. 1 : 7, respectively. Internal evidence and the name of the chairman to whom two of them are addressed, taken in connection with the resolution of the States General on June 23d (Hague MSS.), make it necessary to assign June, 1622, as their date (Bibliographical Appendix, II., Nos. 9, 10, 11).

[188] Resolutions of the States General, Aug. 2, 4, 1622.

year before, and the United Provinces were now completely drawn into the great European conflict. The army of the archduchess had attacked Juliers successfully, and Sluys unsuccessfully. Count Frederick Henry had ravaged Brabant, and in July of this year Spinola had formed the siege of Berg. When Usselinx reached Prince Maurice, the latter was at Gravenweerd (now Schenkenschanz, near Cleve), away from the main body of his army, watching Cordova; and Count Mansfeld and Christian of Brunswick, with the army which the fugitive king of Bohemia had dismissed and the States had temporarily engaged, were already on their way to assist him and raise the siege of Berg, cutting their way through Cordova's forces at Fleurus on the 29th of August.[139] It was on the next day that Usselinx received from the Prince the letter he desired; and at once he returned with it to the Hague. The letter requested the States to take such action as they thought fit upon the suggestions made by the petitioner, and urged them, in view of his great labors and services in behalf of the company, still continued with so much zeal, to give him some suitable recompense.[140]

But the recommendation had no further result than the appointment of a committee, a reference of the matter to the States of Holland, or to the directors of the company, recently elected against his advice, and an attempt to elicit information from him as to collecting subscriptions, at which he seems to have been thought especially skilful. Finally, in November,

[139] Gindely, Geschichte des dreissigjährigen Krieges, iv., pp. 375–7; Opel, Der niedersächsisch-dänische Krieg, i., pp. 370–3; Le Clerc, Histoire des Pais-Bas, ii., pp. 76–80; F. Halma, Tooneel der vereen. Ned., s. v. Gravenwaerdt.

[140] The stadtholder's letter is given in full, in Dutch, in the Octroy ofte Privilegie, of 1627, and as Appendix C to the Auszführlicher Bericht, in Arg. Gust., p. 55; in German translation in the Auszführlicher Bericht of 1626; in Swedish translation in the Vthförligh Förklaring of 1626. A summary is in the Resolutions of the States General, Sept. 1, 1622 (Hague MSS.). In the Memorie aenwysende of Oct. 3, 1644, Van Rees, ii., p. 472, a letter from the Prince dated Gravenweerd, Sept. 17, 1622, is referred to; but it would appear from Gardiner, Prince Charles and the Spanish Marriage, ii., p. 228, that by that time Maurice was at Breda; probably then the letter in Arg. Gust. is meant, but misdated.

they gave him six hundred guilders, in confidence that he would do all he could to get subscribers under the present charter; and agreed to recompense him according to the amounts obtained. He replied that he would do what he could, if they would at least pay him the thousand guilders promised in July, 1620, which it seems they had never done; but he once more expressed himself as having little hope of getting adequate subscriptions unless his amendments were adopted. He was willing, if they would give him regular employment, to make valuable disclosures to them; for, in the course of thirty years spent in the study of the subject, he had gathered information which others, even if they had visited those countries, did not possess. In a memorial exceptionally long even among those written by him, which he presented a little later, he compares the rewards he had requested with those given to Columbus, who had been made admiral and governor of all the lands he should discover, with the right to one tenth of the revenues thence derived; he disclaims, however, any intention to compare himself with Columbus, though at the same time he reminds those to whom the paper was addressed with how much uncertainty, and indeed misapprehension, the expedition of Columbus had been undertaken.[141]

Their High Mightinesses no doubt resolved that, however apt his comparison of himself with Columbus might be, their suitor did not suffer from lack of certainty as to his views; they must have thought him opinionated, importunate, tedious, intractable. Yet his real willingness, in spite of all his clamor for pay, to be of use to the company, is evinced by an anonymous pamphlet published in two editions in the earlier part of this last year, of which there can be little doubt that he was the author. It is entitled "Brief Exposition and Exhortation to all Lovers of the Fatherland,

[141] Resolutions of the States General, Sept. 9, 23, Oct. 8, 26, Nov. 3, Dec. 20, 1622, Feb. 16, March 22, 1623; of Holland, July 26, 1622. Memorial of the beginning of November, Van Rees, ii., Appendices x. and xi., pp. 453–6; unpublished memorials of Nov. 6, 1622 (Albany, B. 1: 11), and Feb. 24, 1623 (Hague MSS.); Mercurius Germaniae, p. 47, in Arg. Gust.

to subscribe liberally to the West India Company," [142] and was printed at the Elzevier press. Speaking of the dissatisfaction with the constitution of the company, which was deterring some from subscribing, the writer declines to discuss this point, as the government had fixed the constitution after full deliberation; but he reminds such persons that amendments, if they are really reasonable, can be secured subsequently. For the rest, the pamphlet, though it has not the literary merit of those published in 1608, is a strong and able presentation of the company's cause. In a simple and straightforward manner he shows how useful such a company will be to the state, and how entirely adequate are the resources of the country to the work proposed, provided the rich subscribe as liberally as the poor have done. He exhibits the advantages which the successful establishment of the company will bring to shipwrights, etc., to sailors, to colonists, to traders and investors generally, and sets forth with especial emphasis the resources for trade possessed by the West Indian regions.

There is another anonymous pamphlet of this same year which may with good reason be ascribed to Usselinx. It is entitled: "Political Discourse on the Well-being of these United Provinces, now again at open war with their enemy," [143] and was occasioned by a *quaeritur* or interroga-

[142] Korte Onderrichtinghe ende vermaeninge aen alle liefhebbers des Vaderlandts, om liberalijcken te teeckenen inde West-Indische Compagnei, etc. For full title, see Bibliographical Appendix, I., Nos. 8, 9. For an opportunity to examine this pamphlet, I am indebted to the kindness of Mrs. John Carter Brown and J. Nicholas Brown, Esq., of Providence, R. I. Laspeyres first attributed it to Usselinx, (Bibl., No. 39); and internal evidence supports this. The date is fixed to the earlier part of the year by the conclusion of the "Extract uyt de Waerschouwinghe by de ghemeyne Directeurs ghedaen," which occupies the last page; viz., that after the last of next July, directors shall be chosen. They were chosen in the autumn of 1622; Asher, p. 52; Resolutions of Holland, Oct. 26, 1622.

[143] Politiicq Discours, Over den welstandt van dese vereenichde Provintien nu wederomme, etc. For full title, see Bibliographical Appendix, I., Nos. 10, 11. For a transcript of this pamphlet, I am indebted to Dr. W. N. du Rieu, librarian of the university of Leiden; I do not know that there is any copy in this country. It was attributed to Usselinx by Laspeyres, (Bibl., No. 46); this seems correct, for in the Waerschouwinge over den Treves, p. 12, (*ed.* of

tory, which had fallen into the author's hands, wherein some one of the opposite party sought by pointed questions to urge that to continue the truce would be much better than to resume war. Accordingly the writer proceeds to show that the country had been in a most flourishing state before the truce, that the enemy had inveigled the States into the truce as the best means of undermining their power, had fostered the internal dissensions of the Dutch during the truce, and derived all the advantage from it, the prosperity of the Netherlands meanwhile declining. Then follows an appeal to prosecute the war energetically and patriotically, particularly by sea; and especially "to carry out the heroic design of the West India Company," the advantages of which are urged with arguments which are already familiar to us, and which, it must be said, are much more satisfying than the author's reasonings upon recent political history and matters of state, which were plainly *ultra crepidam*, and which he surveys with much prejudice and little insight.

But in his plans for the company, it was still trade upon which the mind of Usselinx was chiefly set. He does not think all naval and military expeditions on the part of the company to be necessarily inexpedient; indeed he seems to have planned one against Peru. But he generally opposes those suggested by others, as based upon too small estimates of the power of Spain in those regions and of the forces which will be necessary in order to overcome it, and gives, in one of his memorials, a dramatic account of the way in which he confuted a sciolist who presumed to suggest such an expedition without having devoted thirty years to the subject. The man, who had lived twenty-four years in Peru, was talking of the riches of that country, and declared that he had frequently advised that, in order to get hold of all this wealth, six or seven ships be sent around into the Pacific Ocean to fall upon the annual silver fleet as it went from Callao to Panama. Usselinx at once showed him, by the example of Spilbergen's voyage, how such an enterprise, even if success-

ii. + 30 pp.) Usselinx mentions a discourse published by him after the truce, in which he showed how disastrous its effects had been.

ful, would only put the Spaniards on their guard, without inflicting any serious damage upon them. He proved to him how difficult it would be to make such an attack secretly, how easily it could be evaded, how hard it would be for the Dutch ships, which could not ordinarily pass the Straits of Magellan before February or March, to intercept the silver fleet, which left the port of Lima in May. The man acknowledged that Usselinx was right, and said that he had not thought of these things, but that it would be a good thing if it could be done. "Whereupon," says the indignant Usselinx, "I answered in amazement, 'How can people talk so lightly about a matter of so much importance, and advocate things they have so little considered; and now you yourself have acknowledged that the Spaniard ordinarily has a fleet of twelve ships there, and can at need bring up eight or ten thousand infantry and a thousand or fifteen hundred cavalry, so that you can plainly see that operations so expensive and so remote cannot be built on so slight foundations'; whereby your High Mightinesses see how people can make an affair seem either great or small, to suit their designs;" the obvious inference being that they had better give their exclusive confidence to the undersigned Willem Usselinx.[144]

V.—WITHDRAWAL FROM THE NETHERLANDS.

> **Nos patriae fines et dulcia linquimus arva;**
> **Nos patriam fugimus.**
>
> —VIRG. Ecl. I., 3, 4.

It was very hard for Usselinx to give up hope of obtaining what he thought to be his just dues, or to consider any rebuff as final. But even to his sanguine and persistent mind it began to look as if the end were nearly reached. He was still confident that the main cause of the delay in satisfying him was, that he knew too much of the matter and his enemies too little; that his enemies consisted of Spain and its adherents, Papists and Arminians, the envious, the selfishly interested, and those who entertained a prejudice against his

[144] Unpublished memorials of June 15, 1622 (Albany, B. 1 : 9) and Feb. 24, 1623 (Hague MSS.).

judgment in such a matter because he had not been successful in managing his own property. But his confidence of success in making head against such an array of opponents at present was manifestly decreased, though he hoped that "by and by, when the bad humors in Holland were evacuated," he might get his dues. But under the present circumstances, he tells us, he resolved to give them no more advice, still less reveal any secrets; for though he had presented to them more than a hundred memorials and had as many conferences with them, he had not told them in full where it was best to begin the operations of the company; his views on that point had only been read aloud to them in his presence.

A hindrance of especial consequence throughout these negotiations had been the frequent changes of personnel of the committees. The pensionaries, syndics, and secretaries of towns were, to be sure, mostly permanent; "but their wisdom," says Usselinx, "was chiefly Latin, they were full of prejudices, and when the committees, whose wisdom was chiefly in their purses, assembled, these persuaded them that it was of no use to read my writings, since I had no Latin wisdom nor understanding in my purse. So they went back and persuaded their principals that cucumbers were lanterns." As an instance of the way in which such rotation in the representative bodies brought him delay and disappointment, he relates that at one time (it was probably in April, 1622), in the States of Holland, sixteen out of the nineteen votes were cast in his favor; but that one of the committee had to go away, and another was by the factionists put in his place, who was an enemy to Usselinx because he would persist in forwarding the business of the company, and because he had learned of the treasonable correspondence of some of them and told the Prince of it. Whereupon this one, having charge of the report, caused the final decision to be unfavorable. Another obstacle arose from their having caused the directors of the company to be chosen prematurely, as he thought; and the directors proved indisposed to favor his claims, especially, it would seem, after the States General had,

much to his vexation, shown them certain letters received from him.[145]

With the summer of 1623 the limit of the projector's patience was reached. The States General, after trying to induce him to accept, in lieu of his claims, a salary of four thousand guilders per annum as agent in collecting subscriptions, concluded to wait till the meeting of the governing board of the company (the Nineteen) at the Hague. Then ensued several conferences, in which Usselinx proposed, as his ultimatum, that he should receive two per cent. of all subscriptions he got beyond five millions, one fifteenth of all the profits the state should derive from the company, and one fourth of the brokerage. The States refused the first and second, but, sensible of the service he might yet do them, resolved to refer the third request favorably to the Nineteen, to give him six hundred pounds of forty groats, and promise him more if he succeeded well. But he adhered to his previous demands and refused to make further disclosures unless these were satisfied, being unwilling, as he phrased it, to shoot away all his arrows. About the same time the States of Holland finally refused him redress.[146]

It remained only to make one last effort. In August, 1623, Usselinx prepared a summary statement of all the services he had done the country in the matter of the West India Company, to be handed in to the States General. He names witnesses who can substantiate all his statements, and asks: first, whether they will not trust so good witnesses and

[145] Anhang dieses aussführlichen Berichts, in Arg. Gust., pp. 47, 48; the two unpublished memorials just referred to, note 140. The letters mentioned were dated Oct. 26, Dec. 20, 1622, Feb. 15, 1623; the resolutions of the States General of Oct. 26th, Dec. 20th, Feb. 16th, notice their receipt, but the letters themselves appear to be no longer extant.

[146] Anhang, pp. 47, 48; resolutions of the States General, May 2, June 3, 14, 21, 27, July 8, 1623. The resolution of the States of Holland referred to, I do not find; in the Memorie aenwysende of Oct. 3, 1644, its date is given as July 24, 1623, in the Anhang dieses aussführlichen Berichts, Arg. Gust., p. 50, July 4, while in the Swedish edition of the Auszführlicher Bericht, the Vthförligh Förklaring, L. iv., the date June 4 is given. I am indebted to Mrs. John Carter Brown and J. Nicholas Brown, Esq., for the opportunity to use this very rare Swedish pamphlet.

the evidence of the actual events; and second, what is to be thought of those who oppose this matter without really understanding it; are they not true Nabals, whose brains sympathize with their purses, as the sea with the moon? He begs them to consider the question, whose fault it is that the project has thus far succeeded so ill; of him who tirelessly promoted it and predicted the evil of the course adopted, or of those who urged the latter; and whether they ought not therefore to be changed. Since all the world thinks this the most important hope of the Netherlands, ought he not to have a recompense? Even if others understand the matter better and have improved the project, ought not he who started it to have something? Or, if thought too old and weak for further service, is this a reason why he should be cast aside unrewarded?[147]

The appeal was an impressive, and even a pathetic one; but it was vain. The States General read it, but took no other action than to refer the petitioner to the Nineteen, or council of the West India Company, giving him a letter of favorable recommendation to them. But Usselinx delivered neither this letter nor his summary statement, for the Nineteen would not meet for some time, nor did he conceive that it was they who owed him, nor that, when they met, any thing good was to be expected of them. He therefore definitely resolved to abandon all such efforts and, with great regret, to leave the ungrateful republic to whose service he had given more than thirty of the best years of his life, and seek elsewhere the means of gaining a livelihood and of paying his debts.[148] We may well enough fancy that the weight

[147] This letter is to be found in Dutch, under the title Sommier Verhael, etc., in the Octroy ofte Privilegie of 1627; in Swedish, under the title Summarisk Berättelse, in the Vthförligh Förklaring of 1626; in German (with wrong date, Aug., 1622) in the Auszführlicher Bericht of 1626, and in the Argonautica Gustaviana, pp. 51–54, as well as in Joh. Marquardi de Jure Mercatorum et Commerciorum, vol. ii., sub lit. M. For fuller discussion of these editions, see *post*, notes 184, 185; Bibliographical Appendix, I., Nos. 15, 16, 20, 26, 27.

[148] Resolutions of States General, Aug. 25, 1623; Anhang, in Arg. Gust., pp. 43, 50; Memorie aenwysende, Van Rees, ii., p. 465. In a pamphlet entitled Some Account of William Usselinx and Peter Minuit, by Joseph J.

of his disappointment at departing thus from his country was increased by the fact that, at just about the same time, Jacob Willekens, Piet Heyn, and Jan van Dorth, with thirty-two ships and sixteen hundred soldiers, set out from the Texel to make the first expedition of the Dutch West India Company, so that the unhappy Usselinx was forced to go away just as the fruits of his labors were beginning to show themselves.[149]

The declared purpose of Usselinx on leaving the Netherlands, which apparently he did in the autumn of 1623, was to go to Danzig, to serve as agent at that city for several Dutch mercantile houses. Danzig was at that time a prosperous city, already famous for its grain trade, which during the latter part of the last century had given a great impetus to the growth of the town; and now that the war interrupted the trade of the Netherlanders with Spain and the Atlantic regions, Danzig had rapidly become one of the chief points in their commercial system. On the way, however, he wished to visit the new cities of Glückstadt and Frederikstad in Holstein, and Gothenburg in Sweden.[150] Glückstadt, on

Mickley (Papers of Del. Hist. Soc., III.), p. 8, the version is given that "the States-General positively refused to settle his claim on the 4th of July, 1623"; which, it will have been seen, is doubly erroneous. I think it necessary to say here one word concerning that pamphlet. A note at the foot of its first page says, "Most of the materials used in this paper were taken from original unpublished documents preserved in the libraries of Sweden, where I procured copies of them during my sojourn in that country." So far as I can see, this is true only to the extent of about one or two pages out of the seventeen relating to Usselinx. All the rest is taken, in nearly all cases word for word, though often with execrably bad translation, from the Argonautica Gustaviana. It is a pity to have to say such things of a production which, though abounding in errors and evincing little historical information, was usefully intended and industriously carried out. The letter of the States General is printed in Dutch in the Octroy ofte Privilegie, and the Arg. Gust., p. 55; in German translation in the Auszführlicher Bericht of 1626; and in Swedish translation in the Vthförligh Förklaring.

[149] Algemeene Geschiedenis des Vaderlands, iii: 3, p. 830; Le Clerc, ii., p. 88; De Laet, Historie ofte Jaerlijck Verhael, p. 8.

[150] Briefue Declaration de la principale Cause, etc., dated Paris, Dec. 1, 1634, of which I have copies both from Paris and from Stockholm, beside that among the Mickley MSS., in the library of the Historical Society of Pennsylvania; Bibliog., II., No. 59; Memorie aenwysende of Oct. 3, 1644, in Van Rees, ii.,

the Elbe below Hamburg, had been founded in 1617 by the restless and ambitious Christian IV. of Denmark, to protect the western side of his dominions, and especially to become a great centre of commerce and divert trade from Hamburg. Its fortification in 1620 had caused great uneasiness in the Netherlands, then allied with the Hanse towns.[151] The origin of Frederikstad was such as to make it for still other than commercial reasons interesting to a traveller from the Netherlands. After the Contra-Remonstrant revolution of 1618 and 1619 in that country, a considerable body of prominent and wealthy Arminians, fleeing from their native land, asked the permission of Christian IV. to settle in his new city of Glückstadt. But the orthodox clergy of Denmark induced the king to refuse, and they turned to his nephew, Frederick III., duke of Holstein-Gottorp, who received them with open arms and gave them extensive privileges. They proceeded to establish upon the Eider a town which they named after him, and which they built in the Dutch style, making it the handsomest and most regular town in the duchies, well worthy the inspection of any travelling Netherlander, however great his aversion to Remonstrants as such.[152]

p. 455. Fynes Moryson's Itinerary, part i., p. 62; on p. 63 he tells us that the village of Zunzane, apparently some thirty miles from Danzig, was "inhabited by Hollanders, who hauing dried the Fen, made the fields much more fruitful," [A. D. 1593]. Possibly some of these kindred spirits may have additionally attracted the ex-opperpoldermeester; no doubt, however, there were many other Netherlanders in and near Danzig. See also, on Danzig, a letter of Camerarius to Oxenstjerna (1626), in M. G. Schybergson, Sveriges och Hollands diplomatiska Förbindelser, 1621–1630, No. 36 of the Bidrag till Kännedom af Finlands Natur och Folk, of the Scientific Society of Finland, p. 416.

[151] J. H. Schlegel, Geschichte der Könige von Dänemark aus dem oldenburgischen Stamme, ii., (1777) pp. 66, 88, 89; G. L. Baden, Danmarks Riges Historie, iv., p. 24; Molbech, Kong Christian den Fierdes egenhændige Breve, p. 369. On the relations of the States General to Christian IV., Opel, Der niedersächsisch-dänische Krieg, i., pp. 54–65.

[152] Baden, iv., pp. 22–23; Schlegel, ii., p. 66; Holberg's Dänische Reichs-Historie, (I have had access only to the German translation, Flensburg, 1743). ii., pp. 706, 707. Vondel has a brief poem in which he celebrates the tolerant course of Frederick of Holstein; Werken, ed. J. van Lennep, vi., p. 94. For Usselinx's opinion of Remonstrants see Waerschouwinghe over den Treves, p. 2, where he classes them with free-thinkers, apostates from the reformed religion, and heretics.

It may well enough be doubted, however, whether the sole purpose entertained by Usselinx was, after gratifying his curiosity by the sight of two or three interesting cities, to go on his way to Danzig and devote himself to commercial business there. In the long memorial of the preceding February, already mentioned, a passage occurs which lends support to another view. In speaking of Columbus, he calls to mind how, at the court of the king of Portugal, "certain self-important and inflated men" opposed the projector; how the king, after getting all possible information from him, attempted secretly to send out an expedition independently of him; and how Columbus, disgusted with this, betook himself to the king of Spain, and with his aid carried out his scheme. Taken in connection with the comparison of Columbus and the writer, which follows, the passage is significant. *Ecce, convertimur ad gentes.*

A passage in the resolutions of the States General, some two years and a half before this, leads to a confirmation of this belief. Willem Eusselincx, it reads, has informed the president that Heer Ulenfelt, ambassador of Denmark, has asked him for information concerning the West India Company, so he has written out what has so far been resolved upon, but does not wish to give it over without knowing their High Mightinesses' good pleasure. Jakob Ulfeldt, sent as envoy to the States in 1621, and father of the famous and unfortunate Count Corfits Ulfeldt, was the chancellor of the kingdom of Denmark.[168] It was, then, we may feel sure, no accident that Usselinx, after seeing Glückstadt and Frederikstad, repaired to Copenhagen.

Christian IV., King of Denmark (the same king of whose visit to his royal brother-in-law Harrington in the Nugae Antiquae has left so amusing an account), was an active and energetic monarch, who, in addition to great zeal for the improvement of his large dominions in all ways, took an especial interest in all matters of navigation and commerce. In 1616 he had founded a Danish East India Company, not just

[168] Memorial of Feb. 24, 1623; resolutions of the States General, May 12, 1621. Schlegel, ii., p. 96; Baden, iv., p. 61; Opel, i., p. 147.

now very successful, which was managed principally by Netherlanders. Accordingly, in spite of all the preoccupations of the Danish court this year, 1624, with the Swedish negotiations at Knäröd in May, Anstruther's mission in July, Christian von Bellin's in August, and all the preliminaries of the fatal conflict into which Denmark's intervention in Lower Saxony was to bring her, time was found to hear the noted projector of the Dutch West India Company.[184] Through Christian Friis the king's secretary, who, by the way, had himself served in the Netherland wars, his former acquaintance Ulfeldt, and Jan de Willem, a Dutch refugee who had become the king's chief commercial agent, an offer was made him of a considerable salary per annum, if he would enter the service of the king. But Usselinx resolved to go on to Gothenburg. It is a significant commentary on what he in various places says of the way in which his ideas were plagiarized, that, soon after he has gone, we find Jan de Willem obtaining a patent for eight years for a trading enterprise to America and Guinea; of which, however, nothing seems to have come.[185] An additional reason, by the way, for Usselinx's not going to Danzig at once, may be found in the fact that, in the summer of 1624, a severe pestilence was raging there.[186]

In 1624 no small number of Dutchmen were to be found in Sweden. In the work of bringing Sweden out of its obscurity into full participation in the life of civilized Europe, the kings of the house of Vasa had made use of them, as the czars a century later used Germans, and perhaps

[184] On the early history of the Danish East India Company, Schlegel, ii., pp. 68–72; Baden, iv., pp. 25–33. On the Congress at Knäröd, at which both Friis and Ulfeldt, as well as Oxenstjerna, were present, Baden, iv., p. 61; on other events in Denmark, Opel, i., pp. 58–65.

[185] Briefue Declaration of Paris, Dec. 1, 1634 (Bibliography, II., No. 59); Memorie aenwysende, in Van Rees, ii., p. 466. I do not think I can be mistaken in identifying the "facteur Jan de Wilm," whom Usselinx there mentions, with the Johan de Willem mentioned in Schlegel, ii., pp. 59, 72; Baden, iv., p. 33. His patent was dated Jan. 25, 1625. On Friis, see Schlegel, ii., p. 58; Molbech, p. 34.

[186] Letter of Christian IV., Aug. 4, 1624, in Molbech, Kong Christian den Fierdes egenhændige Breve, p. 177.

in greater number than the members of any other nation. Moreover, because of the devotion of the Netherlanders to trade, and the preëminent position which they enjoyed in it, merchants of that nation were probably to be found in every commercial city of Europe. In Sweden they were no doubt most numerous in Gothenburg. King Charles IX. had founded that city with a special purpose, easy to divine if one remembers what the boundaries of Sweden then were. Not only Norway, but much of the southeastern portion of the peninsula belonged to Denmark. On the one hand Blekinge, Sconia, and Halland, on the other hand Bohuslän, were hers, and the entire sea-coast enjoyed by Sweden upon the western sea, and outside the range of the Sound dues, consisted of less than twenty miles. The town founded here was accordingly a matter of special concern to Charles IX. and his son, and was endowed with exceptional privileges in order to attract thither immigrants from Scotland, Germany, and especially the Netherlands. The first burgomaster of the town after its rebuilding by Gustavus Adolphus, a few years before this, was a Netherlander, Abraham Kabbeljouw, a man high in the confidence of the king and, as a strong Calvinist, likely to be congenial to Usselinx. Another Dutchman enjoying much of his favor was Jacob van Dijck, of Haarlem, the present burggrave of the town, who had formerly been employed by the king in frequent diplomatic missions and as his agent in the Netherlands.[187] On the arrival of Usselinx, Van Dijck and another friend, named Hoeffnagel, insisted on his remaining there until the arrival of the king, who was expected to come to

[187] On Gothenburg, see Argonautica Gustaviana, p. 17; Geijer, History of the Swedes, tr. Turner, p. 230. On Kabbeljouw, Vondel's Werken, ed. J. van Lennep, ii., p. 689; it was his daughter Margaret whose giving birth to an illegitimate son by Gustavus plays so important a part in the romantic story of Ebba Brahe; Fryxell, Berättelser ur Svenska Historien, i., p. 41. The Dutch Calvinists afterwards worshipped in his house at Stockholm; Svenska Riksrådets Protokoll, ed. N. A. Kullberg, i., pp. 115, 117. On Dr. J. van Dijck, Droysen, Gustaf Adolf, i., pp. 65, 77, 86, 103, 110; Svenska Riksrådets Protokoll, ed. Kullberg, i., p. 139; Schybergson, Sveriges och Hollands diplomatiska Förbindelser, 1621–1630, pp. vii. xvi.–xviii.

the city soon, and having audience of him. Usselinx accordingly remained and had a conference with the king, which, the reader will not be surprised to learn, lasted six hours, and in which he proposed to him the erection in Sweden of a general trading company, and supported his proposition with arguments satisfactory to the king.

These seem to have been followed by a written exposition of the commerce which, by the erection of such a company, the kingdom of Sweden might obtain. The document is one of considerable interest to the student of the history of commerce. Beginning at the Straits of Gibraltar, the writer describes the productions and exports of the various countries of Africa, Asia, America, and Magellanica, and the goods suitable for trade with each; the whole showing great and minute knowledge of the trade of the less-known parts of the globe. It is interesting to note, in his discussion of Africa, his belief in the existence of a great inland lake of Zaire, out of which flowed the great river Mauicongo, as well as the Niger and the Nile; as also, in the paucity of our information concerning his private life, his mention of the servant he had from the regions of the Amazon, who was with him for three years, learned to read and write, made profession of Christianity, and was baptized at Amsterdam. His highest expectations seem to have been based on trade with Abyssinia, and with Terra Australis or Magellanica, which he supposed to extend from New Guinea on the west to the Straits of Magellan, if not to the Cape of Good Hope, on the east; but these expectations seem to have been based on little else than the fact that not much was known of those regions.

Of the possessions of the English in Virginia Usselinx expresses the opinion that they will not prove very remunerative, being too cold to produce the things most valued in Europe, while as for bringing thence the grains and fruits raised in Europe, the distance is too great; "and if they bring over too much they will injure England; indeed it is said that for this reason they do not allow any sheep to be carried over there, feeling that their wool-trade would be in-

jured; what they now import is tobacco, furs, wood, ashes, and it is said that they have discovered some good copper mines." A similar opinion is expressed of Florida, while Terra Nova and Nova Francia have already been dismissed from consideration as being too cold. As the result of these oral and written representations of Usselinx, the king at once made him offers so advantageous that he forthwith resolved to enter the service of Gustavus Adolphus and devote himself to the furtherance in Sweden of a scheme not unlike that to which his best years had been given in the Netherlands, and having similar results in America.[158]

VI.—GUSTAVUS ADOLPHUS AND THE SOUTH COMPANY.

Jagh troor och wist i Handelsmän,
J måste thet bekenna;
At aldrigh någhon Konung än
Fordrad edher som thenna;
Han hafwer på åthskiligh sätt
Mang prijsligh Compagnie vprätt,
Som kunde Rijket båta,
Om man ey will försumma thet,
Städher han och vpbyggia lät.
Men nu må j wel gråta.

—HYLTÉN-CAVALLIUS AND STEPHENS, Sver. Hist. och Pol. Visor, p. 305 (ballad on death of Gustavus).

The conference which so swiftly decided the subsequent career of Usselinx cannot have taken place earlier than the middle of October, 1624. His complete draft of a charter is dated November 4th[159]; on the 10th the prospectus or "Mani-

[158] Memorie aenwysende, in Van Rees, ii., p. 466; Briefue Declaration, (Bibl., II., No. 59). From the statement of Oxenstjerna, quoted by Geijer, p. 210, it appears that Gustavus spoke Dutch fluently.—The memorial alluded to is entitled Aenwysinge van den Coophandel (Stockholm MSS.). For full title and a discussion of it, see Bibliographical Appendix, II., No. 21.

[159] It appears from Geijer, p. 230, n. 4, that Gustavus visited Gothenburg but once in 1624. He was at Stockholm on August 24th, proceeding westward was at Jönköping on October 12th, at Elfsborg, the castle of Gothenburg, on October 21st to 25th; Opel, Der niedersächsich-dänische Krieg, i., pp. 77, 78; and Moser's Patriotisches Archiv, v., p. 67. The complete draft of charter (Stockholm MSS.) being in Dutch, I do not hesitate to ascribe it to Usselinx; Bibliography, II., No. 19.

fest" of the new company, drawn up by him, was issued, and, to anticipate a little, the document authorizing Usselinx to begin collecting subscriptions for it was signed the next month, the charter a year and a half later. At first sight we might be disposed to find in the rapid progress of these measures, when compared with the thirty years' delays which, in the Netherlands, intervened between the inception of the project and the issue of the charter, evidence only of the superiority in promptitude of a centralized monarchical government wielded by such a man as Gustavus Adolphus, over a many-headed republican government like that of the Lords States General, with its centrifugal proclivities and its slow and cumbersome machinery. No doubt this greatly aided the efforts of Usselinx; but there was another point of contrast between the two countries which was quite as important. The Netherlands, and especially Holland, were at this time perhaps the wealthiest country in Europe, at any rate the most thoroughly versed in all affairs of trade. Sweden was one of the poorest, and in commercial matters one of the most inexperienced; all the merchants in Sweden, Usselinx declares, are not so rich as three in Holland, nor a hundred of the farmers as rich as one there.[160] In the one country, the power of carrying out large commercial enterprises by individual initiative had become highly developed; in the other it was nearly absent, and the projector of a great trading company did not have to encounter at every step the hostility of competing interests.

Again, the government, instead of being largely composed of the representatives of such competing interests, and in general of full-grown mercantile cities, was necessarily and frequently engaged in paternal efforts to stimulate commercial activity, and indeed all kinds of industrial life, within the newly awakened kingdom, now just recovering from exhaust-

[160] Waerschouwinghe over den Treves (*ed.* of ii + 30 pp.), p. 17. The entire revenue of the crown amounted in 1620 to only 1,280,000 dalers, say $800,000; Gfrörer, Gustav Adolph, p. 43. I may as well say here that, balancing various inconsistent computations of Usselinx, and statements obtained elsewhere, I have concluded to reckon the daler of that time as equal to 67 cents, the rixdollar to a dollar, or 2½ florins.

ing wars. Elsewhere in Europe, mercantilism had grown up as a national product, modified in many ways by the economic conditions of the various countries. In Sweden, on the contrary, it was introduced suddenly and without reference to the previous economic life of the nation, and carried out to an extreme of theoretical completeness by the strong hand of an energetic administration. Foreign trade, as drawing in money from without, became in a peculiar degree a concern of the government, which hedged it about with many restrictions, tending to secure the monopoly of it to a few large towns, formally designated as staple-towns. The burghers of these towns were prohibited from engaging in internal trade, which was then thought unprofitable to the state, and was confined to a minimum, entrusted mainly to the citizens of other towns, and made subservient to the interests of foreign trade. But the lack of capital and consequent subjection to foreign competition had already turned the attention of the government to the expediency of combining capital by forming companies. The proposals of Usselinx therefore fell in entirely with the designs which the young king had, tentatively and with less definiteness and fulness of information, been urging upon the attention of his kingdom; he found the way already prepared for his gospel of transatlantic, or, (in its present more general form) extra-European, commerce.[101]

Already in the preceding reign, in 1607, a Gothenburg Company had been chartered for purposes of internal and external trade [102]; but the troubled reign of Charles IX. was not a propitious time for such undertakings. Early in the reign of Gustavus Adolphus, in the interval after the conclu-

[101] I have derived much information respecting the Swedish commercial legislation of the period from E. G. Palmén, Historisk Framställning af den Svensk-finska Handelslagstiftningens Utveckling från Gustaf Wasas Regering till 1766, Helsingfors, 1876. See, here, pp. 7, 8, 65, 71, 72, 88, 89, 100. Also from J. W. Arnberg, Om Författningarne för Svenska Handelns Upphjelpande under Gustaf II. Adolphs Regering, Upsala, 1854. See pp. 6, 7, 11, 23–25, 31–36.

[102] A. A. von Stiernman, Samling utaf kongl. bref, stadgar och förordningar angående Sveriges rikes commerce, politie och oeconomie, ii., p. 538; Arnberg, pp. 26, 27.

sion of the Danish war, an ordinance for the regulation of trade was issued at Örebro in 1614; the most important of its provisions respecting foreign trade was that forbidding foreign merchants to trade in Sweden, except in certain designated seaports, in which they were not to remain more than six weeks—a Chinese policy against which the English merchants loudly protested.[163] In 1615, by an ordinance issued at Wässby, the king declared his purpose to strengthen Swedish commerce by founding a general company. The provisions of its charter may prove of interest when we come to consider that prepared by Usselinx and issued in 1626. It was to continue in existence ten years and have general privileges of foreign trade, as well as certain privileges of preference as creditors. No subscription was to be of less than 800 dalers (say $600). Twelve per cent. of interest was guaranteed the first year; after that, profits were to be divided according to shares. The management of the company was to be by a governor and directors, who were to be paid by a percentage on all goods bought, sold, imported, or exported. They were allowed to buy, sell, or hire ships, and to have a warehouse in every city, though Stockholm was to be their principal seat. The king promised to recommend the company to all princes, and to help it with ships and money; it was to be free of all taxes in 1615, during the next three years to pay no import duties and only one fourth of the usual export duties, and after that to pay one half the usual rate of each. Abraham Kabbeljouw was, the same year, appointed governor of the company.[164]

The constitution thus framed contained several provisions resembling those against which Usselinx remonstrated in the charter proposed by the maritime cities of Holland for the

[163] Joh. Widekindi, Gustaff Adolphs den anders och stores historia och lefwernes beskrifning. i., pp. 214–219, 243; C. D. Arfwedson, De Colonia Nova Suecia, pp. 2, 3; Stiernman, i., p. 655; Loccenius, Historiae Suecanae libri ix., p. 524; Gfrörer, p. 72; Arnberg, pp. 11, 12.

[164] Widekindi, i., pp. 274–277; Stiernman, i., pp. 660–668; Gfrörer, p. 72; Cronholm, Trettioåriga Kriget och underhandlingarna Sveriges i Tyskland, (of this I have had the use of the German translation only, the title of which I have not with me), p. 34 of trans.; Arnberg, p. 27.

Dutch West India Company. But it was no doubt rather the general indifference and inexperience, than any defects in the charter, which impeded the progress of the company. In one of the diets of 1617, the king spoke sharply to the representatives of the four estates about the general disobedience to the ordinance of 1614, and the neglect to support adequately the new company. But the burgher estate expressed so strong objections to the scheme that it was postponed. A long ordinance regulating trade was framed in that year, and privileges were issued to trading companies in 1619 and 1620. The Riksdag of this same year (1624) had established a copper company, an iron company, and a Persian company.[165]

We know now that the year was one of intense preoccupation to the king, for he had already resolved on, was preparing, and but for the successful underbidding of the king of Denmark would have carried out, that intervention in the affairs of the empire and the European conflict, the execution of which, six years later, brought to him and the Swedish nation their greatest glories. Yet the truce now intervening in the Polish war, and covering the whole of the year 1624, probably did give him greater leisure to listen to projects beneficial to the industries of his country, even when proposed by a man to whom a memorial covering forty-three pages of foolscap seemed short, and a conference of six hours not too long.

It is interesting to observe, in the manuscript draft-charter of November 4th and in the printed prospectus of November 10th, how Usselinx, when he had full scope, arranged the provisional constitution of the company which the king, with a promptitude so gratifying to the proposer, had consented to establish. The printed prospectus contains only the outlines of those provisions which the intending subscriber would most need to know, omitting for the most part those which concerned only the relations of the company to the

[165] Widekindi, i., pp. 377–379, 388; Stiernman, i., pp. 690, 708, 718, 761; Hallenberg, Svea Rikes Historia under Gustaf Adolf II. den Store, v., pp. 191, 207, 211; Arnberg, pp. 16, 17.

crown. But in the manuscript draft, which was not altered when the charter was actually issued, we see the arrangements of the projector at length. His ideas were fixed. In every point, virtually, he adheres to the provisions which, three or four years earlier, he had advocated in his discussions with their High Mightinesses about the charter of the Dutch West India Company.

The General Commercial Company of the kingdom of Sweden, called also the Southern Company (Australische or Söder Compagnie), was to exist for twelve years (April 1, 1625, to April 1, 1637). For subscribers living in Sweden the term for subscriptions was to be April 1st, for the king's other subjects and for foreigners June 1st (afterward changed to May and July), each subscriber paying by four annual instalments. The directors were to be chosen by shareholders who had subscribed a thousand dalers (say $700) from among those whose investments were of two thousand dalers or more. There was to be one for each hundred thousand dalers subscribed, and any district, town, corporation, guild, or person subscribing that amount, whether native or foreign, was entitled to be represented by one director. Three hundred thousand dalers should entitle a city to have a "chamber." The directors were to serve six years, and then, and every two years thereafter, a new board should be chosen, two thirds from the old board, one third from the committee of principal stockholders chosen to assist the directors and audit their accounts daily, a general audit occurring at the end of six years. The directors were to be paid by a salary of a thousand dalers per annum.

The principal management of the trading enterprises of the company was to be in the hands of a committee of twelve, chosen from among the directors of the various chambers in proportion to the amounts subscribed in the various cities. The government granted a reduction of imposts to four per cent., promised to protect the company, to build and equip any fortifications it might need, and not to take any of its vessels for the use of the state save by consent. The company was to have the right to make treaties

and alliances, foster colonies, defend itself against attacks, and appropriate any prizes its ships might take; but it was not to attack the possessions of Spain or other foreign powers. Four hundred thousand dalers were promised as a subsidy by the king, in return for which he was to receive one fifth of all the gold, silver, quicksilver, and other minerals obtained, and one tenth the produce of the lands occupied. A council, chosen by the king from among the principal shareholders, was to have charge of the political concerns of the company, matters of war, administration, justice, and legislation. Liberal concessions of supervision were made to foreign princes and republics subscribing largely.[166]

The reader who recalls the arrangements urged by Usselinx in the Netherlands, will see that he was faithful to the ideas then professed, abandoning, in fact, scarcely a single detail. The limit of duration to twelve years, the extension of the territorial limits, so as to include Terra Australis and the east coast of Africa (and now also Asia, for Sweden had no East India Company), the apportionment of directors to amounts of capital subscribed, their payment by salary rather than by commissions, the strict supervision of their accounts, and their election by the stockholders,—all these features of the former project are repeated in this. Even the pecuniary qualifications for electors and for the directors themselves are much the same. The provisions for represen-

[166] The details of these two paragraphs are to be found in the manuscript draft referred to, dated Elfsborg, Nov. 4, 1624, but not bearing the king's signature (Bibliog., II, No. 19); being in Dutch, it is no doubt by Usselinx. The details of the first of these two paragraphs are to be found in the Manifest und Vertragbrieff, of Gothenburg, Nov. 10, 1624. For full title, see Bibliographical Appendix, I., No. 12. A Dutch draft of it (Stockholm MSS.) undated and unsigned, Bibliog., II, No. 18, by Usselinx, indicates that it is to be attributed to his hand. It differs considerably in text, except at the end, where these provisions are given. It not only is the source of this Manifest, but, slightly worked over, formed the basis of Der Reiche Schweden General Compagnies Handlungs Contract, and Sweriges Rijkes, etc.; Bibliography, Nos. 13, 14. Of the German Manifest und Vertragbrieff, Warmholtz, Bibliotheca Historica Sueo-Gothica, No. 7627, says: "och finnes jämväl trykt på Svenska." I have never heard of a copy of the Swedish edition, however; the German is rare.

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tation of foreign subscribers reappear, as well as those for partial control by stockholders, and especially the favorite design of a Council of the Indies. The promise of the government not to appropriate the company's ships was a new provision, and, as afterward appeared, a significant one. Also, the aversion of Usselinx to government subsidies and exemptions from duties had disappeared; but the case was different with these in Sweden, where there was so much less individual wealth. Aside from this, the draft does not bear traces of special adaptation to the conditions of industrial life in Sweden. The earlier writings of Usselinx do not show him to have had much previous acquaintance with Swedish trade, and he had not yet had time to make himself familiar with it. Nor indeed was the course of his efforts henceforth such as to require him to make profound study of the national economic circumstances, so long as his designs satisfied the government.

The project which the well-informed and enthusiastic foreigner had urged upon the attention of Gustavus so convincingly was followed up by the king with characteristic promptness. On the 21st of December he issued at Stockholm a "Commission to Wellam Ussling, to establish a General Company for Trade to Asia, Africa, America and Magellanica."[167] In this, power and permission are given to Usselinx to travel about gathering subscriptions in Sweden and its dependent provinces (it should be remembered that Sweden now possessed Finland, Carelia, Esthonia, Ingermania, and part of Livonia, to which subsequent campaigns added parts of Courland and Prussia); and the administrators of provinces and districts, the burgomasters and councillors of towns, and all other officers, are charged to assist his

[167] There is a draft of this in Dutch, doubtless by Usselinx (Stockholm MSS.), Biblog., II., No. 20. A printed copy of the Swedish commission itself is to be found in the royal library at Stockholm, as I am informed by Madame Sjöberg. A MS. copy is among the Mickley papers in the library of the Historical Society of Pennsylvania; Professor Gregory B. Keen, the corresponding secretary of that society, kindly sent me a copy of it. A bad translation of it is printed in N. Y. Col. Docs., xii., pp. 1, 2. See also Stiernman, i., p. 910; Hallenberg, v., p. 212; Arfwedson, p. 6.

efforts to establish a company from which so much benefit to the kingdom might be expected.[168]

Mention has already been made of a printed prospectus issued by Usselinx at Gothenburg, Nov. 10, 1624. That prospectus was printed in German, perhaps also in Swedish. Usselinx kept the Dutch draft, and, with it as a basis, issued early in the next year, in German and Swedish, another prospectus, which differed little in substance from the former one. It is in form a blank for subscriptions, the undersigned giving notice that they have agreed to form in the kingdom of Sweden a general trading company. But the opportunity for propaganda is utilized, and the result is a small pamphlet, wherein the advantages of the scheme are set forth and its details described succinctly; the latter have already been given.[169] The writer shows how great wealth and power the king of Spain has acquired through oceanic commerce. The Netherlands, too, especially since the Brabanters, Flemings, and Walloons retired thither, have so gained in wealth that houses there now rent for as much as they formerly brought at sale. For all such commerce Sweden is naturally as well fitted as any country in Europe. (Gustavus had himself expressed the same opinion in even stronger terms.[170]) The

[168] Before leaving the year 1624, I ought to say a word concerning a book of that year, of which Mr. B. Fernow, in a contribution to Mr. Winsor's Narrative and Critical History of America, vol. iv., p. 416, says that it is probably by Usselinx. This is the "Westindische Spiegel, by Athanasius Inga, Peruvian, of Cuzco," obviously a pseudonym. Mr. J. Carson Brevoort, who has kindly shown me his copy (which apparently belonged to De Laet), states that the attribution of the work to Usselinx rests merely upon a conjecture of his. I am convinced that it cannot be by Usselinx. In the first place, a book of three or four times as many pages as the Argonautica Gustaviana is not likely to have remained unnoticed in the list of 1644 and his other writings; secondly, it displays an intimate knowledge of regions which I do not believe Usselinx knew well, while of the Azores, the only one which he had visited, the account given has nothing of the additional fulness one would expect. Furthermore, Usselinx was probably not in the Netherlands in any part of the year of publication.

[169] The German edition is entitled Der Reiche Schweden General Compagnies Handlungs Contract; the Swedish, Sweriges Rijkes General Handels Compagnies Contract; see Bibliographical Appendix, I., Nos. 13 and 14. An inaccurate translation from the German appears in N. Y. Col. Docs., xii., pp. 2–7.

[170] Arnberg, Om Författningarne för Svenska Handelns Upphjelpande under Gustaf II. Adolphs Regering, p. 23.

Swedes could carry more cheaply than the Spaniards, and could draw on greater masses of population. Over the Netherlanders they have the advantage of cheaper materials, of the control of the Baltic trade, and of not being at war with Spain. Instead of the three or four per cent. which lands bring, such commerce may bring a hundred per cent. a year. The work will redound to the glory of God, to the benefit of the king and thus of all the people. The advantages to all orders of society are described: to the nobles, the bishops and ecclesiastics, the schools, the merchants, the farmers.

The first of April, the first of May, passed without the company's being started. The wide extent of the kingdom, throughout which it was necessary to spread the preliminary information, was doubtless one cause.[171] But probably the most important was the king's preoccupation with other matters.[172] Urged to interfere in behalf of the threatened Lower-Saxon circle and of Protestant Germany generally, he had eagerly sought an opportunity to do so. But, feeling the difficulties, he had refused to engage in the war unless England and the States General would promise adequate support, and deliver into his hands the sole conduct of the war against the imperialists. The King of Denmark had intrigued against him and then, successfully underbidding him, had won the dangerous prize of the leadership of the coalition. Gustavus, indignant, but willing to serve the Protestant cause in another region, turned his attention to the resumption of the war with Poland, which would at any rate keep Sigismund from helping the imperialists. Accordingly, on the 25th of June, he left Stockholm and sailed, with a large armament, for the coast of Livonia.[173] Usselinx remained in Stockholm.

[171] Vthförligh Förklaring, preface Til Läsaren, p. ii.; Octroy ofte Privilegie, p. 14; also in Auszführlicher Bericht.

[172] For the history of the negotiations of Gustavus in these months I have used Droysen's Gustaf Adolf, i., pp. 204–237; Opel, Der niedersächsisch-dänische Krieg, ii., pp. 228–233; Schybergson, Sveriges och Hollands diplomatiska Förbindelser, 1621–1630, No. 36 of the Bidrag till Kännedom af Finlands Natur och Folk, utgifna af Finska Vetenskaps-Societeten, Helsingfors, 1881, pp. xlii–lx.

[173] The king's arrivals and departures are best found in the Svenska Riksrådets Protokoll, ed. Kullberg.

A few days later, as Carl Banér was soon going on a diplomatic mission to France,[174] Usselinx drew up for him a paper of instructions as to how subscriptions for the South Company might be gathered in that land.[175] In the first place, the German prospectus which had already been printed, and the charter, should be translated into French. As the king of France had allowed his subjects to subscribe to the Dutch West India Company, he should be induced to extend the same favor to that of Sweden. The advantages of the company itself, the damage to Spain, and the general advantages of Swedish trade, the exchange of the linens of Rouen and Brittany and the other French manufactures, against the metals and lumber of Sweden, should be strongly presented; those of the Reformed religion, in particular, should be told how excellent a refuge Sweden was, with entire liberty of conscience, and even a hope, if enough Calvinistic immigrants came, of permission to have their own preaching in their own houses.[176] Among the advantages possessed by Sweden for the West India trade, he does not fail to mention, as one of the chief, the presence there of "the person who started the West India Company" of the Dutch.

Usselinx advises the commissioner to obtain letters from certain friends of his in the Hague to prominent merchants in Paris, Rouen, St. Malo, and other commercial towns. It is interesting to observe who these friends were, for, with all his prolixity, we do not at any time learn much of his private life. Naturally he refers him first to the Swedish minister

[174] It appears from Riksrådets Protokoll, i., p. 21, that Carl Banér was at Paris on diplomatic business in October, 1625.

[175] Memorie voor myn Heere Carel Bannier (Stockholm MSS.), July 7, 1625. See Bibliography, II., No. 22.

[176] In the Bulletin Historique et Littéraire of the Société de l'Histoire du Protestantisme Français, for April 15, 1886, in an article by M. Frank Puaux, Les premiers réfugiés français en Suède, a resolution of the synod of Upsala in 1593 is quoted, which declares against giving any liberty to those who shared "the errors of Zwingli and Calvin." From Riksrådets Protokoll, i., pp. 114, 115, 117, it appears that, in the autumn of 1628, though perhaps not much earlier, the Calvinists at Stockholm used, on sufferance, to hold meetings in the house of Abraham Kabbeljouw, before mentioned. It was here, probably, that Usselinx worshipped while at Stockholm.

there, the Netherlander Jan Rutgersius. A second, Anthony Monier, also entered the service of Gustavus Adolphus, and was his lieutenant-general of artillery. The third was Isaac Massa, of Haarlem, mentioned in a former passage; the fourth, Simon van Middelgeest, a prominent advocate, "fiscael" to the Council of Brabant; the fifth, David Nuyts, was a director of the East India Company.[177] "Also," says Usselinx, "if your Honor could have speech with a nobleman, of Normandy, I think, named Mons. de la Reverdière, who had a fort on the Maragnion in Brazil, which he sold to the Spaniards but could never get paid for, and is therefore very ardent to have his revenge, I believe that he would join us."[178]

How busily, and with how varied an activity, Usselinx was planning and working for the company this summer, is shown by a letter which he wrote a few days later to the chancellor, the famous Count Axel Oxenstjerna, who was then with the king at Riga.[179] He urges that the first of the next March be set as the term of subscriptions; that the chancellor write to the bishops about the project; that an agent be appointed in Livonia, that the matter should be commended to the attention of Henrik Fleming in Finland[180]; and that in general

[177] Rutgersius, a brother-in-law of Daniel Heinsius, and himself a scholar of some note, died in this October. Schybergson, Sveriges och Hollands diplomatiska Förbindelser, pp. xix, lxvii. On Monier, see Svenska Riksrådets Protokoll, i., pp. 87, 88. On Massa, see *ante*, p. 53, and note 89. On Middelgeest, see A. J. van der Aa, Biographisch Woordenboek, *sub voce*; O. van Rees, Geschiedenis der Staathuishoudkunde, ii., pp. 149, 164. F. Muller, Beschryvende Catalogus van 7000 Portretten, 1853, p. 188, gives Nuyts as above; I do not find him elsewhere.

[178] Daniel de la Touche, sieur de la Ravardière, a Huguenot, founded in 1612 the town of San Luiz de Maranham. Attacked in 1615 by the Spaniards and Portuguese under Jeronymo de Albuquerque, he agreed to abandon his fort if they would pay for his artillery; reinforcements joining them, they forced him to surrender it unconditionally. Southey, History of Brazil, i., pp. 392–427. Histoire véritable de ce qui s'est passé de nouveau entre les français et les portugais en l'ile de Maragnan, in D'Anjou's Archives curieuses de l'histoire de France, 2e sér., i., pp. 287–297.

[179] Letter of July 11, 1625 (Stockholm MSS.); Bibliography, II., No. 23.

[180] Henrik Claesson Fleming was at this time colonel of all the cavalry of Finland; Biographiskt Lexicon öfver namnkunnige Svenska Män, s. v.

the most prominent subjects of the king should be interested in its promotion; that a free pass, to the extent of at least four post-horses, should be made out to himself in order that he might travel all over the kingdom. He asks the chancellor for money for his expenses, as well as a regular salary, and especially for money to pay Albrecht Siglitz, agent for collecting subscriptions in Germany. The king had promised him the services of one of his secretaries, Per Eriksson, as translator and for other assistance. Usselinx thinks he will do well enough for translating, but that his previous financial career would be a bar to further usefulness; he modestly suggests that if the king can spare Lars Nilsson or Dr. Salvius it would be of great advantage. Now Lars Nilsson and Johan Adler Salvius were the king's two principal secretaries.[181] He tells the chancellor that Benjamin Boneel, a Netherlander apparently, has come over to see about establishing a manufactory of glass; beads will be useful for the company's trade, but it will be better to secure him and his capital for the company's use. He informs him of the Danish king's jealousy and disparagement of the scheme (it appears incidentally, that the queen dowager had already subscribed two or three hundred thousand florins; the king of Denmark had said he did not believe she had that amount to subscribe), and relates that the newly arrived Dutch envoy, Vosbergen, an acquaintance of his, approved the project, but thought it would be hard to raise the money in Sweden.

A month later he writes in a far less hopeful strain.[182] Johan Skytte, who had been the king's tutor and was now a member of his council and perhaps, next after Oxenstjerna, his most influential adviser in matters of state, had been in Stockholm. Usselinx, after long waiting, had been unable to obtain audience of him, and now begins to be discouraged, and to hint at the prospect of salary he had left behind

[181] List of secretaries in Svenska Riksrådets Protokoll, ed. Kullberg, i., p. 280. Dr. Salvius (a J. U. D. of Montpellier), after much travel and study, had become secretary in 1624. Biographiskt Lexicon.

[182] Letter of Aug. 20, 1625 (Stockholm MSS.); Bibliography, II., No. 24.

in the Netherlands. The inaccessible great man had sent him an order on the exchequer for 250 dalers, but Usselinx seems to think it will be slow in getting cashed, and prays for peace with Poland, that his great scheme may have a better chance.

This last, and the mention of Vosbergen, may lead us back for a moment to the mention of public affairs; for it was not the Polish war alone that prevented the king from fully engaging the resources of his kingdom in the prosecution of transatlantic commerce. There was still some doubt whether he might not co-operate more directly in the struggle in Germany, and it was for the purpose of inducing this that the States General, who were now trying to form a grand alliance against both branches of the Hapsburg house, sent Caspar van Vosbergen, an experienced diplomatist, to negotiate with Gustavus Adolphus. He arrived in Stockholm in the beginning of July, a few days after the departure of the king for Livonia, and followed him a few weeks later. It was during this brief stay that his conversation with Usselinx occurred. The king refused to change his propositions, however, and took no part in the autumn congress at the Hague. England and the Netherlands made a separate treaty of alliance against Spain, the project of general alliance fell through, and Sweden went on independently fighting against Poland. It was only when a truce had been made in this war, and, indeed, not until the king had returned to Stockholm, in the next April, that much could be done for the South Company.[188]

However Usselinx might regret the delay, his time, this summer and autumn of 1625, was fully occupied with preparing for the press a larger book than any he had yet published. This discourse was intended to sum up most of his previous arguments and representations, and, under various forms, it constituted the central portion of most of his sub-

[188] On Vosbergen's mission, etc., Droysen, Gustaf Adolf, i., pp. 237–254; Opel, Der niedersächsisch-dänische Krieg, ii., pp. 225–235, 338–348; Schybergson, Sveriges och Hollands diplomatiska Förbindelser, pp. lxi–lxxi.; Oxenstjerna to Camerarius, Aug. 5, 1625, in Moser's Patriotisches Archiv, vi., pp. 31–5.

sequent publications of any importance.[184] It was to be, in form, a more detailed explanation of the points embraced in the printed prospectuses or blanks for subscription already mentioned. Prefixed to the main body of it is a "Preface to all good Netherlanders, who for the sake of their faith and the freedom of the Netherlands have been exiled from Brabant, Flanders, and the Walloon country and dispersed throughout Europe." To them their fellow-exile addressed himself as having most knowledge of those things of which he is going to write. He declares that in the long wars of the Netherlands they have, at least in land operations, been foremost; that it is they who have done most to keep up the opposition to the king of Spain; and that they have an acknowledged superiority in all matters of commerce, navigation, and manufactures. Hence he hopes to find with them good audience for his project. They, too, can do much to favor it, being so blessed with children and wealth. Again, it can be of great advantage to them, especially as this country affords an excellent place for refuge. He tells them that his long absence from the fatherland has not dimmed his affection for it, nor for them. Nor have the great injuries, misfortunes, and difficulties he has encountered made him relax his efforts for the common weal, nor yet his age, nor the magnitude of the labors he is proposing to himself.

The text of the book itself was to be given to arguments of a more general application; in fact, this preface to the Belgian exiles, so valuable as an indication of the attitude of Usselinx to his native country, was not included in one of the editions,—the Swedish. We must not look to see in the

[184] This Naerder Bericht, or further explanation, was originally written in Dutch. Its text, translated into German, constitutes the principal part of the Auszführlicher Bericht of 1626. Translated into Swedish, with considerable changes, it was the principal portion of the Vthförligh Förklaring of the same year. The Dutch appeared in 1627 as part of the Octroy ofte Privilegie. The German translation, revised, was reprinted in the Argonautica Gustaviana of 1633. See Bibliographical Appendix, I., Nos. 15, 16, 20, 26, 27. The discussion of the hostile criticisms upon Sweden is omitted in the Vthförligh Förklaring.

book all the vigor and directness with which he had written in his younger days; yet it has much good exposition and cogent and spirited argument, and so great a wealth of information as to justify some examination of it. It is evident that the scheme was regarded as a very large one for Sweden to undertake. "Among some persons," he says, "this [the inclusion of Africa, Asia, America, and Magellanica in the charter] has excited considerable surprise, as if they perhaps supposed that the Swedes and Goths wished to ape the great and bold deeds of their forefathers, by whom the greater part of Europe was conquered and ruled; and had taken upon themselves things not unlike the proud desires of Alexander Magnus, and appeared as if they wished to conquer the whole world. . . . Others think they are hearing something as strange as thunder at Christmas, when, in a country where scarcely a single ship is sent out to trade," one speaks of enterprises so remote. He defends this remote trade as being most profitable, and describes, in some detail, the new fields for commercial activity.

Of ways in which his great project will conduce to the common weal, he characteristically names first the advancement of the kingdom of God by the sending out of missionaries who will emulate the Jesuits; of whose boasted conversions he says that they merely teach the Indians to say Jesus Maria and a few words of Latin, and nothing more, an assertion which he supports by citation of Spanish authors. Secondly, many indirect commercial advantages will result, —the control of Sweden's own carrying-trade, increase of shipping, increase of general European trade. Proceeding then to the direct advantages to individuals, he first sets forth what Spain and the Netherlands have won. The Swedes he thinks not less apt for navigation or for manufacture, though as yet they have had little special training. He shows that goods brought to Sweden from Brazil by the Lisbon merchants cost in Sweden two hundred and thirty per cent. of their original value. All this loss can be saved. Sweden has many advantages over Spain and the Netherlands,—a more abundant population than the former, greater

cheapness of commodities than in the latter. Spanish slave-labor is uneconomical; whether slavery is rightful he will not discuss, but if it is thought contrary to the love of our neighbor, its evils can be moderated, and gradual emancipation of body and soul prepared. Of tobacco he says that, "though only a filthiness, and having no use but to disturb the brain and increase drunkenness, nevertheless more money is made from it than from all the spices of the East Indies;" this no one would have believed a few years ago. Insurance rates are quoted to show the safety of such investments; combination of capital increases both security and profit; in Holland, trust-funds for orphans are frequently invested in shares of the East India Company. Advantages to particular classes are enumerated; thus pastors and teachers, whose small salaries cease at their deaths, can thus lay up something for their heirs. The scheme is perfectly honorable and allowable by the law of nations; Spain's claim has no validity, and is already successfully infringed by the French in Nova Francia and the English in Virginia.

Here follows an interesting discussion of the merits and demerits of Sweden, *àpropos* of hostile criticisms which the author fears may damage the company's prospects, if not refuted. First, it is said that Sweden is poor and barren; but he shows that it exports food annually. Secondly, that it is too cold; the difference, he thinks, is not great, and, from what he has heard from Holland, he judges that it has been about as cold there, these last two years, as here, and the country is very healthy, with few doctors of medicine. As to criticisms upon the constitution, laws, and courts, he confesses that he knows little of law. Yet the laws here, though different, seem as good as elsewhere. Process is brief, and foreign suitors are well treated. As to the inhabitants' being impolite or unfriendly to foreigners, he says, I have been in many lands, but was never better treated than here, by high officials, nobles, townsmen, and farmers. Peasants kindly show travellers the way, and they and their women and children show true politeness, unless that consists of French manners, etc. As to their being intemperate, he says it is a

pity they should be so, and should try to gain through drink that cheerfulness and joy which can only be obtained of God and our Saviour through the Holy Ghost. Still, in cold climates (but compare his former statement) one must eat and drink more. He praises the housekeeping of the Swedes, as plain, but liberal. They live happily. The women care most for comfort, "and trouble themselves little about unnecessary and foolish house-cleaning. This," he adds, with an evident lively recollection of the operations of Dutch housewives, "will be far more approved by all sensible people than if they spent their time in superfluous and needless, sometimes even altogether senseless, wiping, washing, rubbing, and smartening; which, nevertheless, happens in many places, where these fools think little of their real duty, but so busily devote themselves to their houses, to show their splendor, and pride, and state that they neglect their husbands for it, and a man cannot use a chair or a bench, or enter a room without first taking off his shoes, unless he wishes to have a domestic war." He also argues against complaints of unjust treatment in former times, of delays in payment of public debts, and of detention of foreigners in the country; for the last, he says, there is no foundation, except that some necessary restraints are imposed in war time.

After this interesting exposition of Swedish conditions, Usselinx resumes the main thread of his discourse, and proceeds to answer various classes of objectors. Some object that he has not himself seen all these places. He replies that his means of investigation have been better than this; he has inquired of the men who knew the countries most thoroughly, never letting pass any, whether French, Spanish, English, or Dutch, studying maps and histories, and paying much for information sent for. To those who ask why other nations have not occupied all these regions, if they are so profitable, he declares that there is room enough for all; nor are hostile actions from them to be feared—if they trade at all in the Baltic. He has also a personal objection to meet—distrust of himself. This he declares quite unwarranted, and points to his success in the Netherlands and the endorsement of the author-

ities there. Distrust of the directors is unreasonable, for the stockholders will themselves choose them. There was also, it seems, some distrust of the king, an apprehension, not absolutely unfounded, as afterward appeared, lest he should use the subscribed money for his own purposes. But, he argues, the king's mother, the Palsgrave John Casimir (his brother-in-law), the councillors, noblemen, military commanders, ecclesiastics, and magistrates, and, it is hoped, the greater part of the common people, have subscribed. Furthermore, not only have we the king's hand and seal, but such a course would be greatly against his good name and interest. Objections as to lack of superfluous population for colonizing those lands, their heat, their remoteness, and the difficulty of obtaining enough money in Sweden, are successfully met. And so the writer closes his treatise, offering to give any further explanations desired, and characteristically declaring that he has not made public all his plans by any means.

While this important and valuable discourse was being written, apparently in September, 1625,[185] there arrived in Stockholm the news of the Spanish recapture of Bahia. Contrary to all the advice of Usselinx, the Dutch West India Company had attacked Brazil, and, "by a happy accident," as he alleges, had in May, 1624, captured "São Salvador da

[185] The Auszführlicher Bericht and the Vthförligh Förklaring were not published until 1626, the Octroy ofte Privilegie, or Dutch edition, not until 1627, the first preface to all three being dated July 2, 1626. But the preface to the exiles, which a memorial (Bibliographical Appendix, II., No. 25), to Oxenstjerna shows to have been written after the body of the work, is dated Oct. 1, 1625 in the Dutch edition, Oct. 17th in the German, as well as in the Argonautica. But the first lines of the appendix (Byvoeghsel, Anhang, or Tilsätning in the various editions) state that while the author was writing the book came the news of the capture of Bahia. Now the first rumors of that capture seem to have reached the Hague just before the first of August. Camerarius writes on that date (N. S.), to Oxenstjerna, "Fama nunc spargitur, Hispanos recuperasse Portum omnium Sanctorum et Civitatem S. Salvatoris in Brasilia, eamque ob causam conspectos Bruxellis et Antwerpiae ignes triumphales;" certain information did not come till Oct. 3d (N. S.), Schybergson, pp. 266, 307. Apparently about a month must be allowed for transit of news from the Hague to Stockholm. The time of composition must therefore be about September. The queen-mother, mentioned in the treatise as living, died on December 8, 1625; Geijer, tr. Turner, p. 247.

Bahia de Todos os Santos ; " but in May, 1625, it had been recaptured by Don Frederico de Toledo.[186] Here was an opportunity to say, " I told you so," which Usselinx could not let pass. He therefore added an appendix or postscript to his little book,[187] in which he related what advice he had given the Dutch authorities, and what warnings on this and other points, and showed that, though founder of the Dutch West India Company, he must not be held in any way accountable for the attack on Brazil, nor discredited by its untoward result. What he wrote on these points is already known to the readers of this monograph; the same is true of his expositions of the reasons why, after so abundant advice and warning, the matter was arranged so ill,—the opposition of Oldenbarneveld, the factious contention of the commercial towns and their magistrates, the frequent changes of the personnel of committees, the premature choice of directors, their ignorance and inexperience. As *pièces justificatives*, he added the summary account sent in to the States General in August, 1623, the unused letter of recommendation of Aug. 25, 1623, from the States General to the Nineteen, and that of Aug. 30, 1622, from Prince Maurice to the States General.

The book was now finished. The next thing was to get translations made, and to have the various versions printed. Usselinx was determined to spare no effort to get his arguments before all possible subscribers. Now he urges that the charter be translated into Swedish and German, and signed, now that his book and its appendices be translated into Swedish, now that they be turned into German and into Latin, now that his Excellency the Chancellor look over the preface to the Netherlanders. Enough has been subscribed to make a beginning, though not this year; the date in the

[186] J. de Laet, Historie ofte Jaerlijck Verhael van de W. I. Co., pp. 13–16, 51–53.

[187] This postscript, with the accompanying documents, is to be found in all three of the editions, Dutch, Swedish, and German, and in the Argonautica Gustaviana. See Bibliographical Appendix. The quotation given by Mickley, " Some Account of William Usselinx and Peter Minuit," on p. 7, is really from the beginning of this postscript, though by him referred to quite another time and quite other circumstances.

charter should be altered accordingly. The governors of provinces and magistrates of towns should be directed to assist; already he is casting his eyes on Livonia and Esthonia, asking that Svante Banér, at that time governor of Riga, and the other authorities there and at Reval, be written to upon the matter. The bishops and superintendents should be directed to send copies of the prospectus and book to the pastors in their dioceses, bidding them earnestly recommend the project in their parishes and offer prayers in the churches for its success; the bishops, it seems, had themselves promised considerable subscriptions.

In getting subscriptions, the lords of the council should be first approached, then the subordinate officers of the government, then the magistrates and burghers of Stockholm, for an example to the rest. Then the other towns should be visited; the officers and soldiers of the army with the king ought to be urged to invest. In fact, no one should escape; the larger the capital the better. Meanwhile, there were agents to be secured, their commissions to be fixed, and many administrative arrangements to be carried out. About his book Usselinx was particularly concerned, wishing not only to get his arguments before the people, but desiring also to make known his personal defence against the charge of ill-success among the Dutch, and likewise to combat the opinion that in commercial matters no one can compete successfully with that nation. For the German translator he suggests Hofråd Christoph Ludwig Rasch, and he complains of the dilatoriness of Erik Skräddare (Schroderus), the royal translator, who, it seems, was unwilling to translate this for the government unless assured that it would be compensated by a corresponding deduction from the amount he regularly had to do.[188]

[188] The authorities here are three brief undated memorials, entitled Memorie van 'tgene noch dient, etc., Memorie tot bevoorderinge, etc., and Verscheyden Redenen dienende, etc. (Stockholm MSS.) See Bibliographical Appendix, II., Nos. 25, 27, 28. Erik Schroderus was a son of the burgomaster of Nyköping, Bengt Nilsson Skräddare, and therefore a brother of the famous councillor Johan Skytte. In 1612 he had been appointed rector of the School in Nyköping, and later Translator Regni. Biographiskt Lexicon öfver namnkunnige Svenska män, s. v.

Further difficulties appeared as spring came on.[189] In Livonia and in Finland, progress had been much hindered by the king's establishing a Finnish Company, to help the trade of the cities in those two provinces.[190] Because of this act, the royal officers had been lukewarm in furthering the South Company; and Usselinx advised that until the latter should have been established successfully, the other company should be suspended. Meanwhile in Stockholm itself the exclusive policy of the trading guilds towards immigrating foreign merchants was injuring the chances of success by keeping away much-needed capital.

But in the spring King Gustavus was again in Stockholm for two months,[191] and in the presence of his intense activity things at once began to look better. What was of prime importance, on the day before he left the capital, June 14, 1626, he signed the charter, and thus gave legal basis to the South Company. As already said, its provisions did not differ from those of the manuscript draft made by Usselinx in the autumn of 1624.[192] It is therefore not needful to say

[189] What follows rests on a short memorial entitled, Eenige bedenckinge tot bevoorderinge vande Suyder Compe (Stockholm MSS.); Bibliographical Appendix, II., No. 29. It is undated, but its contents show it to have been written about the spring of 1626; see next note.

[190] Dr. Theodor Schiemann, archivist of Reval, has kindly sent me, from the archives of that town, a copy of a brief memorial of the town council to Gustavus Adolphus, thanking him for decreeing the establishment of such a company, and praying him to continue to favor it. It is dated May 1, 1626, and the act of the king is spoken of as recent.

[191] April 13 to June 15, 1626. Riksrådets Protokoll, ed. Kullberg, pp. ix., xiii.

[192] Of the printed Octroy eller Privilegium (Bibliography, I., No. 17,) I have seen no copy, and know of none in this country. I have from the Stockholm Archives a copy of the Privilegier för General Kiöphandels Compagniedht, Riks Registr., 1626, fol. 332, v., dated June 6, 1626. But the German translation in the Argonautica Gustaviana bears date of June 14th; and very likely the Swedish document I have is not the actual issue, since in the second and fourth articles the dates for subscriptions and for the inauguration of the company are left blank. My copy also, in the sixth article, gives a thousand dalers as the qualification of a director, instead of two thousand; but this I take to be an error. A Dutch translation of the charter is to be found printed at the beginning of Octroy ofte Privilegie (Bibliography, I., No. 20). Of German translations, there are the Octroy und Privilegium, and Octroy oder Privilegium

much more concerning its details. The date at which the company was to come into existence was fixed at May 1, 1627; the term of subscriptions was to be March 1st within Sweden, May 1st without. It is interesting to observe that the territorial limits within which the company was given a monopoly of commerce did not in this original issue include any of the soil afterward occupied by the Swedish colony on the Delaware. They extended northward on the American coast only to 36° N., the latitude of the Straits of Gibraltar, at which they began on the eastern side of the Atlantic; it was not until the "amplification" of 1632 that the rest of the American world was included. The provision made for Usselinx himself, constituting the thirty-third article of the charter, it may be well to give at length.

"Whereas Wellam Uselinx, born at Antwerp in Brabant, has spent the greatest part of his life in investigating and examining into the opportunities of the countries which are mentioned in this charter, and has also testimony and evidence from the Lords States General of the United Netherlands and from the illustrious Prince Maurice, Prince of Orange, of Christian memory, as well as from various historians of our time, that he has been the foremost author and originator, who for many years, in the United Netherlands, has helped to found the West India Company, and given the said Lords States thorough information in regard to it; furthermore, as he in like degree has given us also good information concerning the same, so that we are well satisfied therewith, offering us his services, that he still further will reveal and communicate to us all the knowledge that he through long experience and practice has obtained concerning the

(Bibliography, II., Nos. 18, 19), that on pp. 9–16 of the Argonautica Gustaviana, and the two in Marquardus, ii., pp. 380–387, 545–552, the one reprinted from the Argonautica, the other a reprint of Octroy und Privilegium (see Bibliographical Appendix, I., No. 27). The German is also to be found in Khevenhiller, Annales Ferdinandei, xii., pp. 536–547. An English translation, but not a very accurate one, is printed in the N. Y. Col. Docs., xii., pp. 7–15. There is an Italian translation, condensed, in Harte's Gustavus Adolphus, ii., pp. 452–458, edition of 1807; it is taken from the continuation of Bisaccioni's Commentario delle Guerre successe in Alemagna, Venezia, 1634.

said trade: Therefore we, both for the services he has hitherto rendered us and shall hereafter render, and for the pains, labor, and great expenditure he has incurred, have granted and allowed that he shall receive and enjoy of the company one penny in the thousand of all goods and merchandise bought and sold in the company, as long as trade to the places mentioned in this charter continues, so that the managers of the company shall be bound to pay the aforesaid sum to him, his agents and heirs, as soon as the account of the goods bought and sold can be made up."

The first part of this passage has been cited by one writer as a testimonial to the merits of Usselinx from Gustavus Adolphus; but its value as such is diminished by the fact that it occurs in the Dutch draft of 1624 already mentioned, which we have every reason to believe was written by Usselinx himself. The phrase invoking the testimony of "various historians of our time" requires a little explanation. What historians were referred to we learn from the margin of the reprint of the charter in the Argonautica Gustaviana of 1633. They were the celebrated President de Thou and the eminent Flemish historian Emanuel van Meteren, whose respective histories were already famous throughout Europe.[198] Encouraged by the king's active assistance, Usselinx now pushed forward the work of translating and printing his pamphlet, or book, and the charter. The former was printed this year at Stockholm in Swedish and German, in Dutch the next year at the Hague. Of the

[198] The marginal reading on p. 14 of the Argonautica is: "Vid. Thuanus de An. 1606. Meteranus in der Niderl. Sprache, passim, etc." In the letter to the States General, of Oct. 3, 1644, in Van Rees, Geschiedenis der Staathuishoudkunde in Nederland, ii, p. 462, he refers to them again. In the memorial (Stockholm MSS.), entitled Briefue Deduction par Laquelle est monstre, etc., dated Paris, Feb. 13, 1635, (Bibliography, II., No. 60), Usselinx says: "A quoi [the testimony of the States General, Prince Maurice, the King of Sweden, etc.] ie pourrais encore Adiouster le Tesmoignage de feu Mons^{r} du Thou qu' il m'a donne passe 29 ans." This cannot be strictly true, for the first edition of part v. of De Thou, covering the year 1606, was not published until 1620; but perhaps he is assuming that this part was written in 1606.—For the testimony mentioned, from De Thou, see note 43; from Van Meteren, notes 33, 38, 42, 54, 55.

charter there were printed this year at Stockholm a Swedish and a German edition; another German edition, though bearing the same imprint as the other two and the Swedish book (Ignatius Meurer, Stockholm), seems to have been really printed in Germany.[194] The preface to the book is dated July 2, 1626.[195] It had been expected, the writer says, that the company should go into operation this past year. But the project had to be made known to subjects outside the kingdom of Sweden, and this, combined with the extent of the latter, had occasioned delay. Also, the king's absence from the country had prevented his gracious grant from being drawn up. This same preface appeared in all three editions. Nor, though the Swedish was differently arranged, were there any very important differences of text, except that in the Swedish version the essay defending Sweden was not included, and there was a little more insistance on Magellanica in the expository portion. It was conjectured to be larger than any other land, was sure to have a great trade, and was too extensive for any country in Europe to hold:

[194] The six publications mentioned above are those entitled: Vthförligh Förklaring, etc., (see Biographical Appendix, I., No. 15); Auszführlicher Bericht, (I., No. 16); Octroy ofte Privilegie, (I., No. 20); Octroy eller Privilegium, (I., No. 17); Octroy und Privilegium, (I., No. 18); Octroy oder Privilegium, (I., No. 19). All these are now very rare. Of the first, Muller says, Catalogue of Books relating to America, 1872, p. 133: "Up to the year 1869, when a copy was offered in a catalogue of Mr. Nyhoff at the Hague, this '*Swedish Usselincx*' has remained entirely unknown, so that the present most probably is the *second ever offered* to the collector." I believe it is Muller's copy, bought for the John Carter Brown Library, which the owners of that library have kindly given me the opportunity to use. I have also used that in the Library of Congress; the British Museum has a third. Muller's copy was valued at 200 florins. Of the last three, I know of no copy in this country.

Muller is in the main correct in his remarks, p. 134, on the relations of the first three of these six; but, instead of the Swedish being made on the original Dutch MS., and the Dutch a new elaboration, the German and Dutch probably represent the original, modified on translation into Swedish.

[195] Arfwedson, De Colonia Nova Suecia, p. 6, says that, as money was slow in coming in, Gustavus Adolphus, by letters given July 2, 1626, at Stockholm, permitted the admission of foreigners. This is erroneous. Gustavus was not in Sweden at that time, (see note 101); and, secondly, the charter already admitted foreigners.

Spain had but two or three places there.[196] Such a touch as this shows us the enthusiast long and excessively occupied with one idea; at forty Usselinx had had more sobriety and balance. Pursuing with intense energy a single object, he had lost sense of proportion. He had lost, too, in play and elasticity of mind, could with far more difficulty than at first reconcile himself to any modification of his projects, to the equal co-operation of any other mind. His mental fibres had grown inflexible. But if he was a less balanced and a less facile man than at forty, there had been no diminution of his wonderful and tireless energy. He was as intense, as persistent, as enthusiastic, as when he began these thirty-five years of incessant labor. The small amount of personal success he had obtained from them did not make him "bate a jot of heart or hope." On the contrary, with the chartering of this second great company of his creating, he took a new lease of life; there were twenty years more of work in him, and throughout those twenty years, however his infirmities of body, and indeed of temper, might increase, the vigor of his mind and the force and energy of his will were never relaxed.

The 30th of October, 1626, we read in the minutes of the Swedish Council, were present Count Magnus Brahe, Clas Horn, Johan Skytte, and Gabriel Oxenstjerna, the chancellor's brother, "and signed certain letters for Ussling."[197] The entry is not a very important one, but its phrase serves to show that Usselinx was very well known to the magnates of the kingdom, even if not quite so important a figure in it as he himself thought. More of what he had been doing can be seen from one of his letters written to the chancellor, who was now in Polish Prussia. Having in his last campaign wrested from Poland nearly all the Baltic sea-coast it possessed eastward of the duchy of Prussia, the king had in this summer attacked the Polish sea-coast west of that duchy. He had conquered all of it but Danzig, and now, returning to Sweden, had left Oxenstjerna as governor-general of the conquered territory. The letter (whose superscription bears

[196] Vthförligh Förklaring, E. i, verso.

[197] Svenska Riksrådets Protokoll, ed. Kullberg, i., p. 32.

some traces of effort to write in Swedish), begins with the usual complaints of delays of translators and printers, and apathy of councillors.[198]

But the books were now at last in print, and that was the main point. "The charter from His Royal Majesty, together with my Discourses, have finally got printed, whereof I send your lordship herewith thirty copies, being in Swedish and German. To the lord Bengt Oxenstjerna I send also fifty copies to distribute, at the same time writing him that it seems to me advisable that the discourse should be reprinted there for distribution in Königsberg and other towns in Prussia."

It is painful to any friend of Usselinx to be obliged to reflect that the eighty copies thus freely distributed would, at the present prices of these rare books, bring a sum sufficient to support the poor man for four or five years, even at the rate of salary last offered him by the Dutch authorities, which he rejected at the time, but seems afterward, whenever things went wrong, to have looked back to with longing. As to the reprinting in Prussia, it may have been carried out, for, as we have seen, there is an edition of the charter printed this year in Germany. But not neglecting to have two strings to his bow, Usselinx had urged the council to charge Anders Svensson, at Hamburg, to have charter and book reprinted there, and spread widely over Germany and even to Venice, to catch all possible subscriptions; and it seems to have been in Hamburg that the reprinting was done. Antony Monier had promised to have them reprinted in Dutch and French, but as he had not, a merchant and shipbuilder, Arendt de Groot, who was going to the Netherlands, offered

[198] Letter of Nov. 3, 1626 (Bibliography, II., No. 30). Though I have only a copy before me, I think I cannot be wrong in supposing the Swedish of the superscription to be that of a foreigner. At the beginning of the letter he attributes much of the want of progress these last months to the frequent absences from the city of Carl Oxenstjerna, the chancellor's cousin. Yet I find from Riksrådets Protokoll, i., that, excepting the meetings from July 22d to Aug. 8th and one meeting in October, Carl Oxenstjerna was present at every meeting of the council from July 1st to that preceding the above-mentioned one of October 30th.

to attend to the matter, much to the gratification of the author, who evidently had a firm belief in the efficacy of print.[199]

Aside from the usual tides in the affairs of men, the success of Usselinx and the company during these years had a marked periodicity. Their fortunes ebbed while the king was absent on his campaigns, they rose when he returned to his kingdom. This winter, the principal occasion for furthering the plan was the meeting of the diet. It was the house of nobles (and military officers) that formed the really important part of that diet. After the diet had met and had heard the king's speech, each estate retired to its own hall. The representatives of the three classes of nobles, those who had been created counts or free-barons, those who could prove descent from a councillor of state, and those who served for their freeholds, sat in their newly built house of barons, to deliberate upon the matters proposed in the king's speech.[200] Here, then, the records tell us, on the 31st of January, 1627, the nobles and knights were assembled, when in came the lords of the council, and with them Wilhelm Ussling. Then one of the councillors, an Oxenstjerna, informed the house of the king's having determined to found a South Company for trade to Africa, America, India, and Magellanica, explained its advantages to individuals and to the country at large, and expressed his hope that the nobles and the other estates would invest largely. The land-marshal, their spokesman, answered that they would take it into consideration, not doubting that, on the representations made, they should be found well inclined thereto. The court-marshal, Didrik von Falkenberg, an eminent officer, whom we shall encounter again, spoke further in favor of the scheme, the charter was read, another Oxenstjerna made a speech, and the council went out. A

[199] Anders Svensson was the diplomatic agent of Sweden in the Lower Saxon circle, and resident in Hamburg, 1625–1630. Riksrådets Protokoll, i., p. 242. Arendt de Groot, *ibid.* The reprinting at Hamburg I infer from the letter of July 19, 1628 (Bibliography, II., No. 40).

[200] Geijer, History of the Swedes, tr. Turner, pp. 219, 220.

week later, such of the nobles as chose, made their respective subscriptions.[201]

To know exactly what sort of support such a company obtained in a kingdom like Sweden, would be highly interesting. Fortunately, we are able to some extent to answer this question. There has come down to us a list, probably drawn up by Usselinx, of those who had subscribed one thousand dalers, the sum necessary to entitle one to vote for directors.[202] In drawing any conclusions from it, it is necessary to remember that the subscriptions of the burghers of Stockholm are not included in it. But even so it remains a remarkable piece of evidence. There are forty-one names. *Thirty-five* of them are the names of members of the council, or military or civil officers of the goverment. One was a physician. Of the other five, I have been unable to learn any thing; as four of them bear foreign names, they were probably merchants. This was certainly, after every allowance for the subscribers of smaller sums and the burghers of Stockholm, a very different constituency from that of the great Dutch and English companies, and betokened a different fate. The amount, too, must have been quite inadequate. The subscriptions of the forty-one whose names are on the list count up to but 110,000 dalers. The whole sum subscribed in Gothenburg is given as 30,000, of which 6,000 came from the qualified electors, the subscribers of a thousand. If the same proportion prevailed generally, the whole sum now subscribed can hardly have been more than

[201] Handlingar rörande Skandinaviens Historia, published by the Stockholm Academy, i., pp. 132–134. The same has been sent me from Stockholm, in a copy from Sveriges Ridderskaps och Adels Riksdags protokoll, ed. Thom and Taube, i., pp. 23, 24. Loccenius, Historiae Suecanae libri ix., pp. 555, 556.

[202] Lyste van die geteekent haben, etc., (Bibliography, II., No. 32). It is undated. It was, however, written after the chancellor's visit to Finland in the summer of 1626. Its including Svante Banér, who died April 4, 1628, and still more its not mentioning any of the subscriptions obtained by Usselinx in Livonia in January of that year, make it probable that it was drawn up before he left Stockholm, say before the autumn of 1627. I have therefore inserted it here. The amount of the clerical subscriptions is given in the Stralsund memorial, of Dec. 30, 1630; Bibliog., II., No. 47.

500,000 or 600,000 dalers, plus the Stockholm subscriptions; that of the clergy seems to have been 100,000. All this, we may be sure, even with the king's 400,000, was not such a sum as Usselinx would have liked to see. Plainly he was engaged in a far smaller enterprise than the Dutch West India Company had been.

To get more subscriptions, the king took the step of at once appointing one of the two directors whom the charter assigned to him. He chose for this position Per Andersson, recently superintendent of the royal rents, and gave him a full commission to further the business.[203] Bishops and pastors were especially charged to assist him. The king himself, the day he left Stockholm for his second Prussian campaign, wrote especially to the bishops in behalf of the company. Some rough verses of the time have been preserved, which have a satirical reference to these exhortations, with a warning which proved not wholly unfounded. Their opening lines may be roughly translated thus[204]:

> "Poor priests, don't give your money to
> The Company of Navigation;
> The burnt-up bones will fall to you,
> The roast itself, to the corporation."

Still further to advance the company's interests, the king, on leaving Sweden, appointed his second director, one Christian Welshuisen. At the same time, by what must have seemed to Usselinx a strange departure from those principles of free and even democratic election for which he had so strenuously contended in the Netherlands, the king somewhat plainly indicated to the shareholders that for their

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[203] Fullmachtt för Directoren Pedar Andersson, att uptala Stenderne till att insettia i dett Södre Compagniedt, dated Mar. 19, 1627. Riks Registrat., 1627, fol. 103, v. (Stockholm MSS.). A. A. v. Stiernman, Samling utaf kongl. bref, stadgar, och förordningar angående sweriges rikes commerce, etc., i., p. 948.

[204] In the German of Geijer (Ger. ed., iii., p. 57), they run:

> "Gib nicht, o arme Klerisei,
> in Sack der Handels-Compagnei:
> den Braten steckt sie in die Tasche
> und dir die Knochen in die Asche."

own directors they should choose "some of the following good men, such as Henrik Fleming, Anton Monier, Mårten Weiwitzer,"—seven men in short are named, of whom two or three were officers of the royal army, the rest mostly merchants.[205] And so, this eminently paternal government having arranged the personnel of the company's management, the king sailed for Prussia. The South Company was now regarded as fully in existence.

VII.—FIRST YEARS OF TRAVEL FOR THE SOUTH COMPANY.

ἐν πρώτοισιν ὀΐω
ἔμμεναι, ὅφρ' ἤβῃ τε πεποίθεα χερσί τ' ἐμῇσιν.
νῦν δ' ἔχομαι κακότητι καὶ ἄλγεσι· πολλὰ γὰρ ἔτλην,
ἀνδρῶν τε πτολέμους ἀλεγεινά τε κύματα πείρων.

Od., viii., 180–183.

The three years which Usselinx had now spent in Sweden had been passed amid quite different surroundings from the years devoted to the Dutch West India Company, but they had, in a similar degree with those, been spent within one country, generally in the capital city, and with few journeys and those not extensive. But with the middle of the year 1627, marked as it was by a considerable step of progress for the company, there began a decided change in the manner of his own life. Henceforward he was to be occupied mainly in travels extending over much of Northern Europe, and in labors with local bodies rather than with general governments. As one result of this occupation he was, by reason of frequent and long absences, as well as of his own lack of adaptiveness, to lose his hold upon the company he had labored to form, and the government he had assisted, to become superfluous, and in the end to incur entire neglect.

The beginning of these travels was his being sent to Prussia by the directors of the company, to urge King Gustavus, by paying in an instalment of his subscription and by other means, to facilitate the sending out of an expedition under

[205] Fullmackt för Directoren öffver Söder Compagnie, dated Elfsnabben, May 4, 1627. Riks Registrat., 1627, fol. 221, v. (Stockholm MSS.).

the company's auspices this year.[206] He probably found the king at Dirschau, recovering from recent wounds and pressing on the war against the Poles. The cardinal feature of the imperial and Spanish policy in these years was to secure to the Hapsburg house the northeastern sea-coast of Germany and, thereby, the dominion over the Baltic Sea.[207] The averting of this pressing danger, a danger which the defeat of Denmark had made still more imminent, was giving full occupation to the energies of Gustavus Adolphus. Still, he found time to do something for the company; and Usselinx, on his part, busied himself with getting subscriptions to the company from Count Thurn and lesser officers in the army. When the king went back to Sweden in November, the chancellor, in pursuance of the king's plans, sent Usselinx, with letters to the royal and municipal authorities, to go through the Baltic provinces, recommending the company to general attention and gathering subscriptions. Of the earlier part of this long, wintry, and somewhat dangerous journey, no account remains among those documents which the chancellor's unusual care for papers has preserved to us; we know, however, that he went by land through Lithuania and Courland, and arrived at Riga just as the year was ending.[208]

[206] Memorie voor Willem Wsselinx van 't gene hy syne Ko. Ma. aldergenadigst sal remonstreren ende wyders hebben te doen op syn reyse na Pruysen aengaende de Suyder Comp[e] (Stockholm MSS.), dated Stockholm, June 12, 1627, and signed by Christian Welshuisen and Vallentin Nilsson (a councillor of Stockholm). Being in Dutch, it may have been drawn up by Usselinx himself. On Sept. 18th the royal council received a petition from the "India Company," as to the general paying in of subscriptions. Riksrådets Protokoll, i., p. 54.

[207] Droysen, Gustaf Adolf, i., pp. 283–293.

[208] The principal authorities for this journey through the provinces on the east side of the Baltic are the letter of Usselinx, written after his return, to Oxenstjerna, dated Stockholm, July 19, 1628, (Bibliography, II., No. 40), and the successive memorials written during the journey, and mentioned in the ensuing notes. The letter to the chancellor mentions a previous letter from Riga, recounting the story of his travels up to that point; but this does not appear to be now extant. But that he went through Lithuania and Courland is stated in a memorial addressed by him to the States General, Sept. 11, 1636, entitled, Notitie van 't geene in 't Coninckrijck Sweeden ende naburige landen is geteeckent ende ingewillicht tot de Suyder Compaignie. This letter has been published in vol. xxix. (1873) of the Kronijk of the Historisch Genootschap te Utrecht, pp. 135–140. See Bibliographical Appendix, II., No. 67.

A few days after his arrival at this old Hanse town, the chief town of Livonia, Usselinx addressed to the burgomasters and council of the town a memorial detailing the advantages which Riga might derive from joining in the South Company.[209] Livonia in general was not at present a promising country from which to collect subscriptions. With the exception of a few years, it had been devastated by war continuously, from Charles IX's first landing in 1600; the nobles were impoverished by war and confiscations, and the peasantry were virtually in a state of abject slavery. Still, Riga had managed to keep up some of its commerce, and since its capture by Gustavus Adolphus in 1621, had apparently been at times fairly prosperous. Indeed, there was much complaint of the luxury and ostentation of the chief merchants, and the proud municipal aristocracy of the principal guild; insomuch that a recent ordinance had endeavored to restrain the excessive expense at weddings among those of this class, by forbidding them to invite more than ninety men and sixty women.[210]

The arguments used by Usselinx in his memorial were, so far as the West Indian trade and the company are concerned, much the same as those with which we are already familiar. But some of the things which he says with more especial reference to Riga, and to the revival of its trade, are of interest. He points out its advantages for providing naval supplies, in case of war; and in case of peace how well adapted it is to become a distributing point, from which the goods of the Indies may be forwarded into Poland and all Russia and the regions beyond. Even in case the terms of peace should restore Riga to Poland, he is sanguine enough to think that King Sigismund will, out of regard for his own interests, allow the city to keep up its connection with the company, which the Duke of Courland and the Elector of Branden-

[209] Korte aenwysinghe vande groote Nutticheyt, etc., dated Riga, Jan. 4, 1628 (Bibliography, II., No. 33).

[210] In regard to the condition of Livonia in general, and of the towns, at this time, I have derived most information from L. C. de Bray, Essai critique sur l'histoire de la Livonie, Dorpat, 1817, ii., pp. 214–252. The history of the wars may be followed in Geijer.

burg (for Prussia) will also desire him to do. His old distrust of Catholics is still strong, but he does not apprehend much from enfeebled Poland. Perceiving how religious the people of Riga were, how constant in attendance at church, he hopes much from the assistance of the clergy for this excellent and godly work, as well as from the noteworthy loyalty of the inhabitants. As to their ability, they have evidently suffered much from the war; in particular, they were just now straitened for money, because the garrison had failed to receive its pay. Yet if every house in the town should invest a hundred dalers, this would amount to a subscription of sixty or seventy thousand dalers. From which it would appear that Riga at that time consisted of six or seven hundred houses; —and also that Usselinx did not mean to do his business as collector in a superficial manner, nor to let the authorities fail for want of definite and inclusive suggestions; the more so, that the whole town was included in the great and small guilds. He proposes, therefore, that the chancellor's letter, his pamphlet (the Auszführlicher Bericht), and the charter, should be read to the patient brethren in each guildhall, and a book left in each for subscriptions. It was hoped that enough might be got in Livonia to enable it to have a "chamber"—that is, it will be remembered, 300,000 dalers.

Difficult as it might seem to escape a collector of this sort, not much seems to have been subscribed here. A month later he speaks of the Livonia subscriptions as amounting to fifty thousand dalers, but this includes those of the governor of the province (Jakob de la Gardie), of the governor of Riga (Svante Banér), and other officers, as well as of the Livonian officers in the army in Prussia. It also probably includes those of other towns. For, leaving Riga under the convoy of the second in command, Gustaf Horn, whom perhaps he knew (for Horn had seen campaigns under Prince Maurice, and had been in Holland again in 1623[211]), he pushed on northward to Treyden, where he narrowly escaped being involved in a siege of the place by the Poles, and thence to Wolmar, to Pernau, at the northern corner of the Gulf of

[211] Biographiskt Lexicon öfver namnkunnige Svenska män, s. v.

Riga, and so across Esthonia to Reval. This was no easy journey to make in midwinter, especially as no posts had yet been established on these roads, though inns had recently been set up here and there.[213]

At Pernau the authorities excused themselves as too poor. At Reval, where Usselinx arrived early in February, the records show that, Burgomaster Derendahl having laid the matter before the town-council in the archive-room, a committee was appointed to confer with Usselinx on the next day in the great guildhall.[214] What ensued we know from his own letters. He presented to them the next day a memorial of some length, in which he advances many of the same arguments for the company as at Riga.[215] The old Hanse town had greatly declined, as he saw by the great size of the warehouses, while now he makes estimate of but five hundred householders; how its trade may be built up he shows as in the former case. But here there was an especial difficulty to meet, in that the king had established and rec-

[213] De Bray, Essai critique, ii., pp. 248, 249.

[214] The text of the entry may be of interest. I am indebted for a copy of it to the kindness of Dr. Theodor Schiemann, archivist of the city of Reval, who obligingly searched the city archives for materials useful to my purpose, and sent me, with the following, two extracts from memorials of the town-council to the king, dated May 1, 1626, and Jan. 14, 1629, showing their attitude toward the Finland Company.

"1628 den 6 Februarii in grammatophylacio

Herr Derendahl proponiert, dass Wilhelm W°sselinx bei seiner Hochwürden umb bescheid auf des h. Cancellarii Sprechen wegen der Australischen Compagnie angehalten.

Abscheid

Es sollen morgen wegen des Rathes Herr Bartelmeus Rotertt, Herr Thomas Luehr, H. Thomas Schrowe, H. Johann Thier, H. Andreas Stampeel, H. Thomas von Drenteln und wegen der Gemeine auch etliche auf der grossen Gildestuben erscheinen und des W°sselinx proposition und Vorbringen einnehmen, und einem edlen Rath wieder referiren."

The record of the next day's meeting appears to be lost.—The names and language show the merchants to have been mostly German. There was, however, a flourishing Swedish community at Reval at this time. Russwurm, Eibofolke oder die Schweden an den Küsten Ehstlands und auf Runö. Reval, 1855; pp. 156, 157.

[215] Korte aenwijsinghe hoe de Stadt Revall, etc., Feb. 7, 1628; (Bibliography, II., No. 34).

ommended to the townsmen a Finland Company and a Russian Company. In combating these, Usselinx argued that the whole Finland trade was not more than enough for three or four merchants, and that the Russian trade with Western Europe was now too firmly seated at Archangel to be diverted by any such amount of capital as they had. The council replied that until they had further directions from the king they would not venture to divert their efforts from the two companies he had already established for their benefit; doubtless, too, the heavy war contributions levied upon the city made them disinclined to new undertakings of any magnitude.[215] And so Usselinx went on to Narva, which, though of slight resources, proved well disposed to his schemes. Thence he went through Ingermanland, getting some promises, around the head of the Gulf of Finland, near where the Czar Peter, when the district became his, founded the great city that did divert the trade from Archangel, and so through southeastern Carelia to Viborg.

If Livonia and Esthonia were poor, Finland was perhaps even more so. It had been much injured by the wars and by the oppressive exactions of the nobles. The entire revenue of the king from it seems to have been, a few years earlier than this, not more than 176,000 dalers, (say $120,000); the entire population was not more than 300,000. Oxenstjerna, after going through some of the oldest settled parts, wrote: "We have seen in the summer time the districts of Wehmo and Masku; there was no cultivation of the soil, and the only inhabitants were wild animals." The silver had mostly left the country, for the ransom of Elfsborg. The taxes were heavy. On account of the tax on country produce the towns were palisaded around; and within the towns the trades were kept under close regulation. Manufactures were in a very backward state. There was in the country one iron-foundry, and a few saw-mills; some musket-barrels were made, and some saltpetre, and there was one powder-mill.

[215] The former is Usselinx's statement of their reply, in the letter to Oxenstjerna, of July 19, 1628, (Bibl., II., No. 40), which describes this journey. The latter is suggested to me by Dr. Schiemann.

The governor, Nils Bielke, had done much for the country recently, but with a strong hand. Commerce was hampered by rigid restrictions. The ordinances by which, as has already been mentioned, the foreign trade of Sweden was made a monopoly for the benefit of a small number of staple-towns, were extended to Finland. Only Abo and Viborg had complete rights of external trade; Borga and Helsingfors had enjoyed them, but these seem recently to have been deprived of them, and trade was concentrated in two towns.[216]

A country so thinly populated, so primitive, and so poor could hardly be favorable ground for the projector's operations. But nothing daunted him. Within three or four days of his arrival at Viborg he approached the council, and finding them inclined to demur at first, addressed to them a memorial in substance like those already described, but adapted skilfully to the circumstances of the place.[217] As at Reval he endeavored to persuade the burghers that the scheme of an exclusive Finland Company, with its staple at Reval, was against their interests, and the Russian trade irrecoverable; he also urges the fostering of manufactures. With a curious minuteness he shows how easily a large sum can be gathered together if all do their part. "Suppose," he says, "that there were in Finland but one hundred *soeken* (parishes), and that each parish had two hundred householders; that would be 20,000 householders. If for four years each house laid by half a mark every week, that would be in all 520,000 dalers." Or if only a fourth of them laid by as much as that, another fourth only two *rundstycken*, the rest one

[216] For the state of Finland at this time I have used Yrjö Koskinen, Finnische Geschichte, (German translation), Leipzig, 1874, pp. 200–217, 267–270; C. F. Rühs, Finland och dess Invånare, Stockholm, 1827, pp. 77–90; Governor Per Brahe's report of 1638 in the Stockholm Academy's Handlingar rörande Skandinaviens Historia, xxxi., pp. 427–442; and, on commercial regulations, E. G. Palmén, Historisk Framställning af den svensk-finska Handelslagstiftningens Utveckling, Helsingfors, 1876. I regret that I have not been able to procure a copy of Waaranen, Landtdagen i Helsingfors 1616 och Finlands dåvarande Tillstånd.

[217] Bedenckinge van eenige besondere voordeelen die de Stadt Wijborgh, etc., Feb. 23, 1628; (Bibliography, II., No. 35).

rundstyck, per week, that would be 260,000, which, with the subscriptions of the nobles, clergy, and military officers, would be enough to entitle Finland to a chamber.[218] The practical man might easily reply that nations do not often subscribe with so ideal completeness; but the practical man might well envy Usselinx his courage, perseverance, and determination.

At Viborg he seems to have succeeded fairly. The bishop helped heartily,[219] and all the clergy of his diocese subscribed. But soon after he left a fire destroyed the town, and made his labors vain. Taking with him a citizen of Viborg, Anteunis Bryer, a Dutchman perhaps, he pushed on westward along the shore of the gulf. Borgå and Helsingfors, by the recent withdrawal of their commercial privileges, were too impoverished to do much. At Åbo, the chief commercial town in Finland, difficulties at first arose of a somewhat amusing sort. The Chancellor's letter, at first presented, was treated by the town-council with some suspicion. The governor thereupon summoned them to the castle, but none appeared, apprehending that they would be forced to subscribe whether they would or not. Usselinx then prepared one of those memorials of which he was so prolific, caused it to be hastily translated into Swedish and Finnish (for though the Swedish language was somewhat favored by the government and Usselinx's own language was not unknown in Åbo, even the cultivated classes still commonly used Finnish [220]) and caused it to be read to the council.[221] They expressed their approval of the scheme, and explained that at first they had supposed it to be simply some new

[218] Eight *rundstycken* made a mark; four marks a daler.

[219] Usselinx had perhaps a special letter to the bishop, memorandum of June 12, 1627, (Stockholm MSS.). In 1618 the diocese of Viborg had again been set off as a bishopric; Olaf Elimaeus, who had been pastor of the principal church in Stockholm, but was of Finnish origin, was made bishop, (d. 1629). Yrjö Koskinen, Finnische Geschichte, pp. 210, 212.

[220] Koskinen, pp. 206, 269, 270. Rühs, Finland och dess Invånare, p. 89.

[221] This is preserved in the Swedish, Kort förklaringh, etc., Mar. 9, 1628, (Bibliography II., No. 36.). It scarcely differs from the memorial handed in at Viborg. He estimates that there are a thousand householders in Åbo.

form of taxation, with which they were already greatly burdened.

And so in general, as he continued his journey, passing through the remaining towns of Finland, and (perhaps around the head of the Gulf of Bothnia) southward along the upper coasts of Sweden, he seems, everywhere but at Gefle, to have met with a favorable reception. There was no one, he says, burgher or peasant, who did not wish to invest in the company, one saying he would rather sell a cow, another a horse, another his silverware, than not join it; but he had found the poverty in many places very great. The various arguments which he used among them he collected after his return in one extensive paper which he hoped to get printed, having perceived, apparently with some surprise, that his previous writings were little known in these rural and secluded regions, though as for contradictions, he had heard none anywhere, "save from drunken fellows that sat on alehouse benches railing without ground or reason."[222]

He urges the utility of the manufacturing industries which the company would stimulate; these would furnish occupation in winter, when it was impossible to fish. He even holds out the possibility of regaining the Russian trade, quite against what he had said at Viborg; the cause of the change and the degree of its sincerity we shall see later. He confutes especially two objections: first, that if there were any such opportunities as represented, the Dutch would surely have taken them before this; second, that it is not a good time for such things while Sweden is engaged in war. But, he says among other arguments, the Dutch, when they be-

[222] Korte aenwysinghe van eenighe besondere voordeelen, etc., written I suppose between May 5, and May 29, 1628; (Bibliography, II., No. 37). The reader, I may observe, should not be misled by the word "Short," at the beginning of one of Usselinx's headings; *e. g.*, this document covers, in my copy, thirty-three full pages of letter-paper.

What he says of population in the regions last traversed may be worth preserving, though not material to my narrative. In Finland and Norrland he thinks there may be about 4,000 burghers (heads of families are meant); the 200 parishes probably contain on the average 200 peasants each, making 40,000 in all. If 200 peasants to a parish in Norrland seem too many, there are more than a hundred parishes, and in Finland the parishes are large.

gan, were as much afraid of the superiority of the Spanish and Portuguese as you now are of theirs. And as for war, this is as necessary as the war, and helps to provide resources for it; and if we were to wait for wars to cease, we might wait forever.

Usselinx arrived in Stockholm on the third of April, after a journey whose discomforts and dangers, in the seventeenth century, in the depth of winter, and to a man of sixty, must have been very great. He found that little had been done as he wished, and much had been done that he did not wish. Per Andersson, the first of his assistants whom Usselinx regarded as efficient, had got subscriptions of 10,000 dalers at Nyköping, of 14,000 at Norrköping, but had since done little. It seems to have been reported that Usselinx was dead.[223] At all events, the directors had concluded to use the money in the Russian trade. Usselinx was strongly opposed to this; but in this purpose of theirs lies no doubt the secret of the change of his opinions on this subject between the date of his memorial written at Viborg and that of the general address to all Finlanders and Norrlanders written at Stockholm. They had entered into an agreement with the Belgian immigrant Louis de Geer, famous for his services in fostering Swedish industries, but who was not even a member of the company, to buy hemp and manufacture cordage extensively.[224] They had been induced by Johan Sparre, governor of the Copper Company, to take up some unsalable property which that company had in Russia. Schemes of trade with Spain, of a monopoly of salt, had been broached, while opportunities of gain in the regular sphere of the company had been neglected. The three directors paid no attention to the injunctions of the charter, seldom came together, did no work, and did not even remain in Stockholm.

[223] So Usselinx states in the letter of Sept. 11, 1636; Kronijk of the Historisch Genootschap te Utrecht, xxix., pp. 137, 138. The other facts here given are from the letter of July 19, 1628, to Oxenstjerna.

[224] The king gave them land for a rope-walk in Norrköping, behind the brick-sheds of the church, by a grant of Apr. 24, 1628, of which I have a copy; För General Handels Compagnie på een Reparebaan, Stockholm Archives, Riks Registrat., 1628, fol. 290, v.

This was no way, Usselinx thought, to manage a great trading company; "it must be done very differently, if it is not to be a Tower of Babel instead of a South Company."

We need not suppose that all these complaints of Usselinx were well founded. He was really furnishing materials for a criticism of himself while he thus censoriously criticised others. But at any rate they let us see how great were the difficulties which beset the establishment of such a company in such a country. They show us how far its actual workings were likely to vary from the elaborate constitution and plans framed for it. For the framing had been done by one educated in the strict school of regular commerce and little skilled to adapt himself to the irregular methods of an uncommercial people and the crude expedients of infant industries.

After all, the chief factor was the government. Upon its course Usselinx naturally passed little criticism beyond declaring his belief that so many new companies ought not to have been started while this was on foot,—an iron company, a silk company, a Finland company, a Russian company, and now there was even talk of a tar company,—all which was simply putting the shirt on over the coat, and turning the water from the right mill; the new depreciated copper money had also done much harm. In general, it had to be confessed that the government was not remiss in the matter. It had ordered that the first instalment of all subscriptions should be paid in by May 1st, on penalty of due indemnification to the company, the king at the same time agreeing to pay in his own (which, by the way, he did not do).[225] The king having given land for a rope-walk, the council urged on Per Andersson to the manufacturing of cordage. After a conference with Usselinx, they approved the translating and printing of his last discourse, and resolved to collect at once the subscriptions he had got in Livonia and

[225] A. A. von Stiernman, Samling utaf kongl. bref, stadgar och förordningar, etc., i., p. 958, under date of Jan. 11, 1628. A manuscript copy of this is to be found among the Mickley papers in the library of the Historical Society of Pennsylvania. A translation is printed in N. Y. Col. Docs., xii., pp. 15, 16.

Ingermania. They charged Eric Jöransson and Holger Scheiding, governors respectively of the *läns* of Östergötland and Nyköping, to collect those secured in their districts.[226] There was one piece of governmental activity, however, that can hardly have given Usselinx much pleasure. In April the chancellor, not knowing he had returned, appointed as agent for the securing of subscriptions in Sweden one Anton Graphaeus, lest the good work should languish "while the aforesaid Yssling remains with the Livonian army."[227]

In view of the events of the next year, there is some reason to suspect that all this activity of the council in the matter, during the spring and summer of 1628, was not caused solely by zeal for the interests of the West India Company or of Willem Usselinx. There was no such zeal in the spring and summer of 1627. But since then the political situation of Sweden had become in a marked degree different. The victorious armies of Tilly and Wallenstein had not only broken the power of the king of Denmark and excluded him from further participation in the German conflict, but even confined him within the island portion of his dominions. Wallenstein had overrun all Schleswig and Jutland, had appropriated the two duchies of Mecklenburg, and had begun his attack on the seaports of Pomerania. Beneath all this there lay a large design, which Gustavus was not slow to penetrate. It was the purpose of the two Hapsburg monarchies, by gaining possession of the Sound if possible, at all events by seizing on all the Baltic seaports that they could, to win for themselves the control of the Baltic Sea. And this was to be but a means toward their greater ends of universal monarchy and the triumph of Catholicism. By the control of the Sound, and the conse-

[226] Riksrådets Protokoll, i., pp. 69, 75, 92 (it was at the meeting of May 29th that Usselinx was present). Letters from the Stockholm Archives: Till Peder Andersson om Repparebanens fortsetning I Norkiöpingh och Linkiöpingh, May 12, 1628; Till Stådthollaren Erich Jörensson (and Holger Skeidingh), July 8, 1628. Rådets Registr., 1628, foll. 624, 697.

[227] His commission, dated Elbing (in Prussia), April 28, 1628; copy from the Stockholm Archives, Oxenstj. Samling.

quent stoppage of naval and other supplies, the Netherlands were to be reduced to submission. In the cities of Mecklenburg and Pomerania the Hapsburg power was to be firmly seated upon the Baltic, and then a great fleet should be gathered together. This should then not only prevent the dreaded interference of the Swedish king in the great German war, but also attack the northern kingdoms themselves, and bring the Baltic regions and all their trade under imperialist control. It was with all this in view that Wallenstein took the title of "Admiral of the Oceanic and Baltic Seas," and made strenuous efforts to draw the Hanse towns into close commercial alliance with Spain and the Empire. He writes to Arnim this winter: "The towns must furnish ships of war, for I strongly desire next year to be strong on the sea," and again: "Pray use all possible effort that we be strong on the sea next spring, for what we are now to do must be done by sea."

Gustavus Adolphus perceived the drift of events. He wrote to Oxenstjerna this winter: "We can scarcely avoid being involved in this war, for the danger comes nearer every day." He had been busy in negotiation to defeat the imperialist designs, and in the month of Usselinx's return had signed an alliance with Denmark, binding himself, among other things, to furnish eight ships of war. When the important city of Stralsund was attacked, he wrote to the council that the emperor must not be allowed to obtain it; "Denmark and the Sound would thereby be lost, and then Sweden's turn would come next, even if the danger could for some time be delayed. How could our fleet suffice to defend the coasts of Sweden, Finland, and Livonia?" He threw Swedish troops into Stralsund, and sought the alliance of the Hanse towns.[228] Under this aspect of affairs the needs of the Swedish naval service were manifest. The suggestion is therefore not a very remote one, that any unusual access of zeal for the

[228] In the preceding I have principally used Droysen's Gustaf Adolf, i., pp. 283–348. Cronholm, Sveriges historia under Gustaf Adolf, ii., p. 315, says moreover that in March and April, 1628, there were rumors of a Spanish armament being fitted out at Dunkirk, and directed against the Baltic lands; the same appears from Riksrådets Protokoll, i., p. 99.

South Company on the part of the council had an ulterior purpose, a purpose which later events exhibited;—though doubtless the furtherance of Swedish commerce was also sincerely desired.

Of all this, however, Usselinx knew nothing. There was more truth in his phrases than he thought, when in a letter to Oxenstjerna, this summer, he conceded that the government must take account of "certain high and princely considerations which do not occur to so small an understanding and so mean a spirit as mine." He went on in entire simplicity making preparations to begin, if not this year, then the next. As the king was departing, he wrote to him requesting certain privileges, the payment of the first instalment of the royal subscription, and the promised loan of ships to the company, to the number of eight. He also requested that his recent discourse for the Finlanders and Norrlanders should be forthwith printed in Swedish and Finnish. In this letter he makes the sanguine estimate that the capital of the company may after a few years come to be thirty million dalers, and that it will raise the annual trade of the kingdom from not more than twenty-five millions to a hundred millions.[229] In spite of some discouragements as to collections, it was thought some small beginning might be made this year. The king assigned one ship and a pinnace for the purpose. It was doubted whether, with so small an expedition, it might not be better to begin with the Russian trade. The council referred this to the chancellor; and apparently no start was made at all.[230]

Of more direct interest to us is a part of the contents of a long letter which Usselinx on July 19th sent to the chancellor, accompanied by a paper of suggestions. Much of this letter is occupied with a narrative of his journey around the Baltic and what he found on his return; these things have already been spoken of. But there are also passages which

[229] Letter to the King, May 5, 1628 (Bibliog., II., No. 39). The preceding quotation is from the letter of July 19, 1628.

[230] Riksrådets Protokoll, i., pp. 81, 96, 97. Letter to the Chancellor, July 14, 1628 (Stockholm MSS.), Rådets Registr., 1628, fol. 709 v.

show which way his mind was tending, now that immediate success here seemed denied. He relates in much detail how information had been received of great subscriptions to the company forthcoming from the Netherlands (800,000 florins, it was said), if its affairs were properly ordered. Again, speaking of the little regard in which his advice seemed to be held in spite of his long training in the high-school of commerce, the Netherlands, he asks to be allowed to go back to his own country, where the States General will certainly pardon his work for a rival company, and rejoice more over his return than over ninety and nine that need not their pardon.

From what he says of his personal affairs, we need not wonder that he desired to go back to the often-mentioned four thousand florins a year. The king had promised him a thousand dalers a year until the company was in operation; but this had been reduced to four hundred, or, since the currency was depreciated and prices high, virtually two hundred and fifty. Of this he had received about two hundred, beside three hundred and fifty from the chancellor. He had run in debt for his journey, and had spent about four hundred dalers for translating, copying, printing, and binding, in Hamburg and Stockholm, beside journeys within Sweden. "And since through age, with some assistance from cold winds, I begin to be stiff, and have had much writing to do in this business, just before my departure for Prussia I invited hither, to help me, my sister's son, who has for eight years written in a notary's office, whose writing your Excellency can see in the accompanying memorials, and who has attended me here for nearly a year, wherewith I have been still further burdened, so that I do not know any longer how to maintain myself, unless His Majesty most graciously consents to relieve me with some money. I make complaint only because of great need, for asking is so much against my nature that it gives me more distress than what I receive brings of pleasure." The king has indeed, in the charter, promised him an adequate recompense when the company is at work; but he may perish meantime. If the king proposes to have the work go on, he is "ready to make himself useful therein

anew and as freshly as if he had not done any thing or labored at all for it." But if not, he prays that his expenses may be paid and he be allowed to returned to the Netherlands.[221]

In October things looked no better; in fact, rather worse. The sister's son had had to be sent back for want of support, after costing three hundred and fifty dalers. Nothing had been done. The company seemed to have dwindled to a rope-walk, and Director Per Andersson stayed there, probably, Usselinx suggests, to assist the parturition of his laboring mountain, and draw his mouse into the world by ropes. The subscriber had better have learned to play the fiddle, by which he could at any rate make his expenses, or keep books for some merchant, in which he was as experienced as many that get a thousand dalers a year, than have come here. But now that, through no fault of his, all hope of success in the project is virtually gone, he had better go back to the Netherlands, where, beside the chances already mentioned, he makes the somewhat surprising assertion that the East India Company had several times desired him to be their general in the East Indies.[222]

It was not difficult to see that the fortunes of the South Company were at the lowest ebb. That Sweden was to participate in the Thirty Years' War was virtually decided, and there was little leisure for other schemes, and a tendency at least to use them for purposes of state. When the king got back to Sweden in December, Usselinx very soon obtained his request. He seems to have been quickened in his desire to revisit the Netherlands by the news of the great victory in the Bay of Matanzas, in September, 1628, by which the company's admiral, Piet Heyn, had captured the Spanish silver-fleet with enormous treasures, the most glorious achievement in the history of the Dutch West India Company; for he thought he could give advice as to the

[221] Letter to Oxenstjerna, July 19, 1628, with brief accompanying memorial, Memorie aen syn Genaede de Heer Ryckx Cancelier, of the same date, (Bibliography, II., Nos. 40 and 41).

[222] Letter to Oxenstjerna, Oct. 13, 1628. (Bibliog., II., No. 42.)

best way of using the money acquired by the company he had done so much to found. His own account, as given long afterward in a letter to the States General, was that the king was unwilling to let him go, fearing that he would not come back, and promised him more money. But Usselinx thanked him, declaring, so he says, that that was not what he wanted, but simply to give the States suggestions valuable to both governments, which he then in secrecy imparted to the king, and promised to return. At the intercession of the vice-admiral, Clas Fleming, and the marshal, Didrik von Falkenberg, who was about departing on a mission to the Netherlands, the king consented. He also gave him money for his journey, and letters to the States General and Prince Frederick Henry, in which he congratulated them on the recent victory, and heartily recommended to them "the experienced and to us sincerely faithful Wilhelm Wsselinx, whose knowledge and expertness, in regard to the affairs and regions of the Indies, clearly perceived by us, will, we doubt not, be of great advantage to you in respect to any further expeditions to those coasts," and urged them to hear and promote his schemes. With these letters, and in the company of Falkenberg, Usselinx set out at the end of January, 1629, and, after a somewhat dangerous passage (they had at the beginning to force a passage through the ice for two miles), arrived in the Netherlands on March 13th.[288]

[288] This account is given in the letter of Oct. 3, 1644, printed in Van Rees, Geschiedenis der Staathuishoudkunde, ii., p. 466. The Latin letter of Gustavus to the States is given in full in the Argonautica Gustaviana, as Appendix D to the Mercurius Germaniae, p. 38. The essential portion is the following passage: . . . "praesentium vobis exhibitorem, Prudentem nobis sincerè fidelem Wilhelmum Wsselinx diligenter commendemus: quippe de cuius in rebus & regionibus Indicis peritiâ & nobis satis perspecta solertiâ nihil ambigimus, quin ad ulteriores in istas oras expeditiones magnum vobis allatura sit emolumentum. Amiciterq; à vobis requirimus, ut dictum Wsselinx benignè suscipiatis, & quae super eiusmodi expeditionibus allaturus fuerit consilia & rationes non modò libenter audiatis, sed etiam quantum in vobis est ope & auxilio promoveatis: indubij; quaecumque movet & molitur si apud vos locum invenerit, tùm in vestrum tùm in *totius oppressae Christianitatis* commodum & utilitatem evidenter sint cessura."

The date of this is Jan. 27, 1629. In the want of any private letter of Gustavus respecting Usselinx, I should be glad to believe that these were more

Many things had changed in the Netherlands in the five years or more during which Usselinx had been absent. Prince Maurice had been succeeded by his brother, Prince Frederick Henry; and Breda had fallen. But Usselinx was destined to find that the States General and the Nineteen of the West India Company had not changed; the States of Holland he does not seem to have thought it worth his while at first to approach. But to the States General he offered to make propositions of great importance, looking not only to the ending of the war and the driving out of the Spaniards, but also to the assistance of oppressed Christendom, and especially to the advantage of the West India Company, on condition that they should suitably reward him for the great services he had previously done.[234] The committee, appointed by the States General to hear him, asked him for an exposition of the things which he had to tell, which he supposed new, thinking he had little of value to say. He replied that he would not have come all the way from Sweden if he had not, and told them two things, which however pleased them so well that they reported favorably; one of his suggestions was that they should take with them Don Emanuel of Portugal; the other, to use larger forces in Brazil. The States General resolved, April 17th, "that the above-named Usselinx shall go to the meeting of the Nineteen of the said West India Company, that with them his claim, as well as his further offer, may be duly considered."[235]

This resolution was not presented to the meeting of the Nineteen at that time, partly because Usselinx thought it

than set phrases, or indications of more than a willingness to do a man a good turn; but I hardly think they are. A bad translation of the letter is to be found in Mickley's little pamphlet, Some Account of William Usselinx and Peter Minuit, p. 15.—From this point on in my narrative the dates may be presumed to be according to the new style, until another statement of change is made.

[234] Preface of Feb. 14, 1630, to the States of Zealand, in the Waerschouwinge Over den Treves, edition of 30 pp. (Bibliography, I., No. 22; No. 21 does not contain it).

[235] Letter of Oct. 3, 1644, Van Rees, ii., p. 467; Mercurius Germaniae, pp. 17, 18. The resolution is to be found in the Argonautica, as Appendix E to the Mercurius Germaniae, p. 39; badly translated in Mickley, p. 16.

was the government who owed him, and partly because he suddenly had to make a journey to Prussia to see the king on important business, a journey which was one of the few dramatic episodes in his career, and was connected with important public events. The mission on which Didrik von Falkenberg had come to the Netherlands was a twofold one. He was to assist Ludwig Camerarius, the ex-chancellor of the Elector Palatine, who was now the minister of Gustavus at the Hague, in the negotiations for the renewal of the alliance of 1614, and he was to enlist troops for the king, to the number of four regiments, for service in Prussia. Vexed by certain restrictions placed upon Baltic trade by his master, the States General refused him permission to make his enlistments. But the town-council of Emden, in East Friesland, then controlled by the United Netherlands, though not a part of them, gave him the desired permission and mustering-place. Here he formed a plan of making East Friesland itself a base of Swedish operations against the imperialists in the coming war and so creating by these troops a diversion. But the States General, wishing to preserve neutrality toward the empire, forbade him to raise troops in Emden even, and drew off some of those his lieutenants had elsewhere obtained, for the service of their West India Company in the expeditions into which its recent success was leading it. The marshal complained bitterly of "the pride of these peasants"; but his enlistments were not wholly prevented, and Usselinx, it seems, went to Emden to help him. Suddenly the operations of both were interrupted by startling military news.[226]

[226] Schybergson, Sveriges och Hollands diplomatiska förbindelser, pp. lxxxvii.–xcvii. Four letters from the Stockholm Archives, viz.: Falkenberg to the king, Amsterdam, April 18, 1629; the king to Falkenberg, Stockholm, May 13, and Marienwerder, June 13 (Riks Registr., 1629, foll. 238 v., 324 v.); Falkenberg to the king, Amsterdam, June $\frac{4}{14}$. The letter of the king to the council of Emden on the subject of recruiting is given as Appendix LVIII. in Onno Klopp's Tilly im dreissigjährigen Kriege, ii., pp. 458, 459. See also Dr. Kullberg's note in Svenska Riksrådets Protokoll, i., p. 132; Arend, Algemeene geschiedenis des vaderlands, iii: 4, pp. 391, 392, 470–472. On the mutual attitude of the Netherlands and the Empire (and League), Klopp, ii., pp. 28–30.

Abandoning the defensive policy which the republic had followed since the fall of Breda, Prince Frederick Henry had in April formed the siege of Hertogenbosch (Bois-le-Duc), a strong and most important position on the southeastern frontier. The siege was conducted with consummate skill. But so largely were the troops engaged in it that the eastern frontier was left somewhat open to attack. The army sent out from Brussels to relieve the besieged city, joined by a body of imperialists under Montecuculi whom the peace with Denmark had set free, suddenly crossed the Rhine, first threatening Friesland and Groningen, the northeastern provinces, then, turning westward, crossed the Ijssel, overran all Gelderland, and even penetrated into Utrecht and captured Amersfoort, almost in the heart of the Netherlands.[287] The alarm was prodigious. Every effort for defence was at once made. When it was supposed that Friesland and Groningen were threatened, the States of those provinces asked Falkenberg to lend them the four regiments he had with so much difficulty raised. He refused, and Usselinx tried in vain to persuade him. Finally he sent Usselinx to the Hague to get the advice of the embassador Camerarius. Though hindered by bad weather, he made the journey in five days and a half, but got no decided reply. But now the enemy had turned into the Veluwe, whereupon the States General themselves made the same request to Falkenberg. But he, since his ships were hired and all was ready to transport the men, and since he had no authority from the king and had been vexed at being hindered in his work, refused as before. Usselinx urging him to consent, the marshal, he says, "said finally, 'I know you are in favor with his Royal Majesty, and have free access to his chamber. If you will make the journey to Prussia, and take upon yourself the matter of answering for this to his Royal Majesty, I will give over the troops.' I did not wish to do it, but seeing how important it was to the state in such case of need, and that it could not be done in any other way, I undertook it. The marshal

[287] Arend, Algemeene geschiedenis des vaderlands, iii: 4, pp. 370, 371, 381, 388, 393. Wenzelburger, Geschichte der Niederlande, ii., pp. 908–913.

thereupon intrusted to me the drawing up of an agreement respecting the conditions on which the transfer should take place; which minute I still have in my possession."[238]

Taking a pass from the authorities of the city of Groningen under the name of Willem Willemsen, Usselinx set out on his journey to the king, probably early in August. He went by way of Hamburg, where large enlistments for the Swedish army were openly being made,[239] and Lubeck, and thence with good speed to the king in Prussia. He probably found the king in his entrenched camp near Marienburg, where the Swedish and Polish armies lay opposite each other, pestilence making fearful ravages in both; "the plague so hott in both," writes Sir Thomas Roe, the English embassador, a few days later, "that I never saw such a mortalitye in Turky, India, nor I thinke can be in Cayro, the seat of the plague, for the number."[240] Active hostilities had ceased and, with French and English mediation, the two parties were engaged in the negotiations which later resulted (September $\frac{14}{26}$) in that six years' truce with Poland which left Gustavus free to engage fully in the German war. Nevertheless, the king was ill-pleased at not receiving the expected troops. Usselinx appeased him as far as might be, and was sent back with instructions for Marshal Falkenberg to follow henceforth.

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[238] A full account is given in the letter of Oct. 3, 1644, in Van Rees, ii., p. 467; a briefer but earlier one in the Argonautica, Mercurius Germaniae, p. 18. Arend, Algemeene Geschiedenis, iii: 4, p. 392, relates the transfer, but ascribes to Camerarius the undertaking to Falkenberg to make it right with the king. Reference is made to resolutions of the States General of which I have not copies; but I am inclined to accept the account given by Usselinx, though it may contain some exaggeration of his own importance in the affair. For the following account of the journey, the sources are: the above-mentioned letter of Oct. 3, 1644, Van Rees, ii., p. 468; a letter to the Chancellor, Stralsund, Nov. 12, 1630, (Bibliog., II., No. 46); and Mercurius Germaniae, pp. 18, 19. As the enemy crossed the Ijssel on July 22d (Arend, iii: 4, p. 388), the journey may be supposed to have begun about the beginning of August.

[239] Droysen, Gustaf Adolf, ii., p. 102. For the negotiation of the Polish truce, below, ii., pp. 19–24.

[240] Roe to Dorchester, Sept. $\frac{17}{27}$, 1629; Letters relating to the Mission of Sir Thomas Roe to Gustavus Adolphus, 1629–30, ed. S. R. Gardiner, in Camden Miscellany, vol. vii., p. 37.

While returning by sea, the ship in which Usselinx sailed was captured off Travemünde by Spanish and imperial war vessels, under the orders of the Spanish "commissioner of the Baltic and Oceanic sea," Gabriel de Roy, who had recently arrived in the Baltic with a Spanish flotilla (for in the naval schemes in the Baltic the Spaniards were engaged no less than the imperialists).[241] Being surprised, he had no time to throw his papers overboard. "I had with me," he writes to Oxenstjerna, "his Royal Majesty's letter of credence, a memorial from the marshal, with a copy of the memorial which I had delivered to your Excellency, a cipher alphabet from Herr Rasch, and a copy of the letter of the States General to the directors of the West India Company, urging them to recompense me, because I was the inventor and promoter of the West India Company, (a fine recommendation to Gabriel de Roy, the King of Spain's commissioner). These papers lay in the fourth coverlet of the berth in which I had slept. Since there was no opportunity to present them to Neptune, they were offered up to Vulcan, and I believe he never had a more willing sacrifice."[242]

After being examined he was taken to Wismar, in Wallenstein's duchy of Mecklenburg, a port used by the Spaniards as a rendezvous. Dutch ships with other passengers were brought in at the same time, and these men were lodged in inns or burghers' houses; but especial suspicion fell upon

[241] "The Spanyards doe there joyne in dessigne with the Imperialists, and by employing divers persons, some of quality and comaund, others of insight and experience in sea affayres, seeke to make a connection and correspondence betwixt the ports of those provinces and those they have in Flanders, after the same manner of Admirantasgos as they have established of late years betwixt the ports of Flanders and those of Spayne, and this with a great and dangerous designe of perfecting that dominion at sea which of late yeares beyond example of all former tymes they have advanced at land." Instructions to Sir Thomas Roe, in Letters relating, etc., in Camden Miscellany, vii., p. 12. Usselinx, also, says in the Waerschouwinge, p. 15 (of No. 22 in my Bibliography): "Met de admiraliteyt tot Wismar is te presumeren, dat de Vyanden oock niet goets inden sin hebben, derhalven sal in Treves of Oorloghe daer dienen of ghelet. Ick hebbe daer inde maent van October inde twintich Schepen ghetelt, waer onder eenighe waren die veertich of vijftich poorten hadden."—On Gabriel de Roy, Droysen, Gustaf Adolf, ii., p. 98.

[242] This is from the letter of Nov. 12, 1630.

Usselinx. A malicious fellow-passenger declared that he was engaged in establishing a company in Sweden, and so, after a second examination, the provost put him in prison; his assumed name, he thought, was all that saved his life. Orders were given to put him to torture, and the executioner and his assistant came with all the instruments for that purpose, when a sudden and unexpected deliverance came, just in time. Word came from Wallenstein, from his ducal residence at Güstrow, not far away, to let the prisoners and the ships go, for he had no quarrel with the king of Sweden, or the Lords States General. And, in fact, we know that in just this month of October the imperial commander was full of apprehension of attack from the Swedish king, and anxious by all means to avert it.[243] Set free in so remarkable a manner, Usselinx at once took ship and returned to the Hague.

Not long after his departure, Montecuculi and the allies had withdrawn, because of the capture of Wesel, Hertogenbosch had fallen, and the year was closing victoriously for the republic. In the attainment of this result, the troops lent for three months by Falkenberg had been an important factor, enabling the full force to be kept up before Hertogenbosch.[244] But Usselinx was mistaken if he thought that great gratitude must therefore necessarily accrue to him. The troops once obtained, it could make little difference to the Lords States whether the authorization of the king of Sweden were afterward obtained or not. Falkenberg, indeed, might well enough have been grateful; but, on the contrary, he failed even to fulfil the promise which he made to Usselinx, to get him new letters from the king, to replace those which he had been obliged to destroy.

While waiting for these letters, he renewed his efforts with the Dutch authorities, to induce them to recompense him for former services. He applied to the States of Holland but they answered that they could do nothing for him.

[243] Droysen, Gustaf Adolf, ii., p. 109. Klopp, Tilly im dreissigjährigen Kriege, ii., p. 32. That Wallenstein had at this time no real design of attacking the Dutch, is shown in Klopp, ii., pp. 28, 29.

[244] Arend, Algemeene geschiedenis des vaderlands, iii: 4, pp. 406–410. Kullberg's note in Svenska Riksrådets Protokoll, i., p. 190.

The States General, after a committee had had a conference with him, on November 17th, gave him a letter to the directors of the West India Company, of similar import to that which they had given him in the spring, but suggesting also that they should find some employment for him, which Usselinx says he did not ask of them. A few weeks later the directors at Amsterdam replied that his services seemed to have been rather to the state than to the company, that the Nineteen had once before refused his request, and that, as for his valuable disclosures, he had declined to make any except in the presence of the commissioners of the States General; so they referred him back to that body, who thereupon let the matter drop. He had some good friends among them, who requested Prince Frederick Henry to intercede in his behalf with the States of Holland, who were especially opposed to him. The prince did so, but reported to Usselinx that he had too many strong enemies. Usselinx characteristically told him to inquire *why*.[248]

Whatever chances of success the petitioner may have had, he soon decidedly injured them by the part which, from highly patriotic motives, he took in an important political matter. Already in June Falkenberg had written Gustavus that there was some talk of a truce with Spain, especially among those of the party formerly led by Oldenbarneveld. The invasion of the Veluwe increased the tendency, but it did not cease when that invasion was repelled. The subject was abundantly discussed. Many remonstrances against it ap-

[248] Arg. Gust., Mercurius Germaniae, p. 19; the two letters form Appendix F, p. 40; translated loosely in Mickley, pp. 17, 18. Preface to the States of Zealand, in Waerschouwinge Over den Treves, p. ii. (edition numbered 22 in my Bibliography). Letter of Oct. 3, 1644, in Van Rees, ii., p. 468. In this last the dates of the letters are given as Sept. 17th and Oct. 3d, but the copies in the Argonautica Gustaviana are dated Nov. 17th and Dec. 3d, and this is doubtless better authority, as more nearly contemporary. Indeed, in the Albany copy of the letter of Oct. 3, 1644 (Murphy MSS., A. 6), the reading is Nov. 1st and Dec. 3d. Moreover, the Waerschouwinge (No. 22), p. 15, shows Usselinx to have been at Wismar in October; see note 241. At the beginning of Appendix G to Mercurius Germaniae, p. 41, Usselinx speaks of a "deduction" presented to the States General in Nov., 1629; this does not seem to be extant.

peared, among them one of especial force from the West India Company. On the other hand, it was thought that if a peace or truce were to be made, one could hardly find a better time than this, when the armies of the republic had been so victorious; and the States General and States of Holland took the matter seriously into consideration.[246]

It can well be imagined what Usselinx thought of such proposals. In one passage he says that, knowing it would injure him, he yet felt it his duty to write a discourse against it.[247] It does not seem certain that he could have expected any injury from such a course; and certainly it was his interest to oppose a peace, for some of the same reasons that led the West India Company to oppose it,—at least if he still retained any hope of sharing in their profits. But, quite aside from this, all his patriotic prejudices were aroused at the thought of any compromise with the traditional enemies of his country and his religion. Accordingly he prepared a discourse against the truce; which is dated at the Hague, January 16, 1630, and presented copies of it to the States General, the States of Holland, and the States of Zealand. It was published in two editions at Flushing, quite without his intending it, he says.[248] In what seems to be the first edition, the printer, Versterre, says that this discourse having been put in his hands by a good friend, and seeming to him, on perusal, to be the best thing that has been written on the subject, he has printed it for the common good. The other edition has instead a prefatory address, "To the Noble and Mighty Lords, my Lords the States of Zealand," dated at Flushing, February 14th. In this he speaks of his recent efforts to obtain recompense for his services, and his ill-success; never-

[246] Falkenberg to the king of Sweden, June $\frac{8}{18}$, 1629 (Stockholm MSS.). Arend, Algemeene Geschiedenis des vaderlands, iii: 4, pp. 413, 421, 422, 430–435. Wenzelburger, Geschichte der Niederlande, ii., pp. 911, 920, 922. Klopp, Tilly im dreissigjährigen Kriege, ii., pp. 43–48, 53. The protest of the West India Company in L. van Aitzema, Saken van staet en oorlogh der vereenichde Nederlanden, ii., p. 900.

[247] Mercurius Germaniae, p. 20.

[248] *Ibid.* For the two editions of the Waerschouwing(h)e over den Treves, whose bibliography has been somewhat misstated, see Bibliographical Appendix, I., Nos. 21 and 22.

theless, affection for his country has led him to write this discourse in confutation of those arguments for the truce which are current among the common people, not presuming to say any thing of any reasons by which the governing bodies may be moved. These phrases seem to imply intention of some sort of publication.

The Waerschouwinghe over den Treves is rather to be compared with the political pamphlets of the author's early life, than with those which he had recently published, which had mostly been of a commercial character. When we do make comparison of it with the former, we perhaps see a little less balance and security of judgment, possibly a growing acerbity of temper toward his enemies. Yet his argument seems as forcible as ever, his insight not dimmed nor his natural force abated in spite of his sixty-two years, his directness and pungency of expression quite the same. Thus, he opens by noting who are in favor of the truce, who against it, and roundly declares that those in favor of it are, the king of Spain, the archduchess, the rulers of the southern provinces, the emperor, the papists in the northern Netherlands, the freethinkers, Remonstrants, apostates from the Reformed religion, heretics, and in general the enemies of the state, with, no doubt, some misguided good men.

After this not very conciliatory opening, Usselinx proceeds to declare that the reasons for which these would betray the interests of the Netherlands are: first, the lovely word peace; second, that no unnecessary war is right, and that this has ceased to be necessary; third, that their luck may turn and they be less well-placed for negotiating than now. These Usselinx successively combats. To the argument that they now have more powerful enemies, the emperor and the king of Spain both, he replies that we now have "stronger friends, including now his Royal Majesty of Sweden, my most gracious king and lord, whose valor, piety, manliness, and fidelity need not be mentioned by me," and who, he is well assured, inclines to assist his friends actively, now that the Polish war is over. Fifthly, it is urged that if Spain makes peace in Italy (where Richelieu was now occupying her with the

Mantuan war), she can crush them; sixthly, that a refusal of peace will alienate the people of the subject provinces; seventhly, that during the truce all commerce will flourish. Against this last argument, Usselinx protests vigorously, declaring that during war commerce increased, but in the former interval of truce greatly declined. It is plain from the actions of the kings of France and Sweden that in peace the French, Baltic, and Russian trade of the Dutch will be destroyed, and that will destroy the advantage of much of their other trade, for the products gained in the Indies are largely carried eastward. The notion that further extension will only weaken the state, is scouted; it is best to go on, and cut off Goliath's head, to make sure, and as to the financial difficulty, he points out the increased resources of the country, the diminished wealth of Spain.

The making of a truce, he says in substance, is not just to our oppressed brethren, not honorable or grateful to our allies, not godly, not advantageous. We should go on, and not spare our Carthage, that the labors of the father and brother of our Gideon of Nassau may not be in vain; and that he and his German Esther may save her people of the Reformed Church. Nor will a truce have any security. Papistry will increase among us, and we shall have "such a mixture of religions as in the Alkaron of Machomet." The various confiscations and spoliations carried out by the emperor in Germany are pointed to as evidences of the uselessness of Papists' promises. Finally, with much good advice as to how the finances may be more equitably and more economically managed, and means thus provided for continuing the war, the author concludes, promising that, if any man will convict him of error, he will join him in shouting: "The truce, the truce, long live the truce!"

No one seems to have undertaken the difficult task of reducing the ardent pamphleteer to such convincement of error. But the authorities of the government proceeded against him with less argumentative methods. It was not that they inclined to peace or truce, for their answer to the proposals of mediation made on behalf of Charles I. by Sir

Henry Vane, with other proceedings of the time, show that they did not.[249] But the bold way in which a mere merchant had discoursed of state affairs and criticised the conduct of the government, was likely to be regarded in that day as a ground of offence; something, too, must be ascribed to the violent way in which Usselinx had spoken his mind against his opponents, and something to the influence of the personal enemies he had made. At all events, on a certain day in June, 1630, a little blue book by Willem Usselinx, entitled Waerschouwinghe, etc., is exhibited at the meeting of the States General, and it is resolved that he be asked to come in the next day and give explanations before that august body. Meanwhile Secretary Musch is to examine it, and note the chief points. The next day the record reads, "Willem Wsselincx, being brought in and there being shown him a little blue printed book entitled 'Waerschouwinghe over den Treves met den Coninck van Spaengien,' acknowledged the contents of that book to be his work, yet explained that he did not cause the aforesaid pamphlet to be printed." Being examined on various points, it is further reported, he gave no satisfaction. He was enjoined not to leave the Hague until further orders, and the Lords of Holland having considered the matter further, it was concluded that Heer Haersolte should take Usselinx and give him a severe reprimand on account of the book, and then dismiss him; also that the authorities of the provinces should be directed to suppress it, it being full of impertinences and incongruities, and not conformed to the truth.[250]

After such proceedings and the *mauvais quart d'heure* with Heer Haersolte, Usselinx could hardly expect much more in Holland. He did indeed give in one last memorial in August, in which, believing from his ill success that his services are really not understood by the States, especially the younger members, he relates them at length from the beginning, together with the losses he has sustained, and ex-

[249] Gardiner, Personal Government of Charles I., i., pp. 208, 209. Klopp, Tilly, ii., p. 53. Arend, iii: 4, pp. 480, 481.

[250] Resolutions of the States General, June 14, 15, 21, 1630 (Albany MSS.).

presses his hope of a reward, with that comparison with Columbus which the reader will remember to have been made before.[251] The only result was a snub.

The request was referred to a member, and on his report it was resolved that if Usselinx thinks he ought to have compensation for his pretended services, he may apply to the West India Company, their High Mightinesses at the same time declaring that they can well allow him to turn to any direction in which he thinks he can better his condition; which Usselinx thought somewhat impertinent, as he had already an honorable situation in the service of the king of Sweden.[252] And so, hearing nothing from Falkenberg, there was nothing for him to do but to leave the Netherlands once more; and he departed, in sadness no doubt, and certainly in anger, but without abatement of sanguineness or energy.

Meanwhile what had befallen the company which Usselinx had left behind him in Sweden? Its history had been about that which might have been predicted when he left it. In June, 1629, the king had laid before the estates, among other points, the question how ships might be provided for the use of the government in the approaching war. In January the burgher-estate had at the king's suggestion established a Ship Company, which should provide sixteen ships for the king's use or for trade. He now proposed a similar course to the two other estates, the nobility and clergy. The nobility responded by proposing that a special tax of fifty dalers on each district furnishing a trooper should be levied for this purpose, and that in addition the money which they had subscribed to the South Company should be applied to this use; and Director Per Andersson advised the same. The clergy likewise, on being called on to vote supplies for in-

[251] This letter of August 15, 1630, is an important autobiographical source. I do not dwell upon it here, however, for the materials it affords have already been used in the course of this biography. It is printed in German in the Argonautica Gustaviana, as appendix G to the Mercurius Germaniae, pp. 40–48. I have a copy of the Dutch original, from the archives of the kingdom of Sweden, (Bibliog., II., No. 43).

[252] Resolutions of the States General, Aug. 31, Sept. 6, 1630. Mercurius Germaniae, lit. H., lit. I., pp. 48, 49. Mickley, pp. 19, 20.

creasing the naval force, suggested that their contribution to the South Company should be so employed. The two bodies also advised the entire union of the South Company and the Ship Company. By royal ordinance of May 29th this was effected, and Abraham Kabbeljouw, general director of the Ship Company, was appointed to superintend the transfer. It was significant that the united company bore usually the name of the Ship Company. For the present, in fact, its main business was to provide the king with ships; it was distinctly declared that, for the time being, the efforts of the trading company would have to be postponed.[283]

Journeying eastward overland to seek the king and get the necessary documents which Falkenberg had not sent, Usselinx came again to Emden. He found the city well inclined to his company, declaring that they would enter it if they had to raise the money by taxation. Thence he went to Hamburg. On October 19th he arrived in the city of Stralsund, whither the king soon came, and seems to have at once requested the king for a new commission. Regardless of the decisive change which had come over the company's affairs, he asked for enlarged powers, enabling him to treat with the electors, princes, and estates of Germany, with the high-sounding title of "commissioner and regent of the company and superintendent of commerce, navigation, and traffic in the kingdom of Sweden." Perhaps it was at this same time that he wrote what seems to be his first effort to write in German, a very brief summary of the advantages of the Swedish South Company as a help toward keeping up the conflict against Spain and the emperor.[284]

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[283] Svenska Riksrådets Protokoll, i., pp. 54, 155, 156, 158, 162, 166. R. M. Klinckowström, Arkiv till Upplysning om Svenska Krigens och Krigsinrättningarnes Historia, i., p. 41. Fredrik Boye, Riksdags-Historien, pp. 15, 16. Ordinance creating Skepps-compagnie, in Stiernman, Samling utaf kongl. bref, etc., i., p. 973, Jan. 26, 1629. Fullmacht för Skeps Directoren om det Söderländske Compagnietz infordrande, May 29, 1630 (Stockholm MSS.), Riks Registr., 1630, fol. 270. Also in Stiernman, i., p. 989.—These dates are of course in old style; see note 233, ad fin.

[284] Draft in Dutch of commission to Usselinx; Bibl., II., No. 44. Bedencken vber die Schwedische Suyder Compagnia; Bibl., II., No. 45. Letter of Nov.

But the king was too much occupied with the war itself to have much spare time for things that might incidentally help it. The die had been cast. He had entered on the great war in Germany which brought him his greatest glory and his early death. Landing in the Pomeranian islands at the end of June, he had brought old Duke Bogislav to terms, had occupied Stettin, had seized or conquered all the coast of Hither Pomerania and the approaches to Mecklenburg. Giving up the attempt to press on through Mecklenburg to the Elbe, he returned to Stralsund a little after Usselinx arrived there. He remained there but a few days, proceeded rapidly to Stettin, pushed his troops up the Oder, and before the year was over had gained at Greifenhagen a victory which secured to him all Pomerania and the lower basin of the Oder.[255]

In all this Usselinx does not appear to have had any share. He did not accompany the king, but remained at Stralsund, whence he wrote to the chancellor at Elbing in Prussia, expressing his hope of making his way thither after canvassing Pomerania, and so to Sweden, to start the company, which he seems not to have thought to be virtually dead, or in suspended animation, as it really was. He told him briefly of his recent experiences. The Dutch had rejected his claim, yet had made him excellent offers if he would go out to the Indies; his Waerschouwinghe had angered them, however. He hoped that the chancellor's interest in the matter had not declined.[256] Going on with his ardent, but somewhat near-sighted efforts, he at the end of the year presented to the burgomasters and council of Stralsund a memorial, "to show how Pomerania and especially the city of Stralsund can be restored to their old prosperity, and commerce, navigation, trade, and prosperity be improved in the same."[257]

12, 1630, to Oxenstjerna; II., No. 46. The first two are undated; but expressions in the third and in the letter of Dec. 19, 1631, lead me to attribute both to about this time.—On Emden, also Mercurius Germaniae, p. 31.

[255] Droysen, Gustaf Adolf, ii., pp. 147–175, 185–192, 198–211.

[256] Letter of Nov. 12, 1630; Bibliog., II., No. 46.

[257] Korte aenwysinge, etc., Dec. 30, 1630; Bibliog., II., No. 47.

It will be remembered that the city had, two years before, sustained a severe siege from Wallenstein, the failure of which was the first check to his victorious career. Since then, it had been occupied by a Swedish garrison, as affording the king a foothold on the continent. But however securely protected, it could not escape the economic consequences of war. Its grain and wool trade had declined with the necessary neglect of the fields and flocks; the same was true of the other Pomeranian cities. The means of redressing this was to take part in the great Swedish trading company. The king, it appears, had, at the request of Usselinx, sanctioned the inclusion of Pomerania in it, and especially commissioned him to effect this. Pomerania's special advantages consisted largely in its favorable situation, as a distributing point for imports and as a place of export, to the region drained by its rivers and the interior generally. Its oak-forests could be made the foundation of a great shipbuilding industry; its wool, of important manufactures. The grain trade is hardly likely to revive completely, having become diverted to Poland, Prussia, Russia, and Livonia. The trade with the Indies will compensate for this. The recent experiences which war has brought to the country show how uncertain is the income from landed property, subject as it is to dangers of war and famine and confiscation; it is well not to put too many eggs under one hen, to have two strings to one's bow. Much the same arguments are used as in the case of the towns on the east side of the Baltic nearly three years before. Even the same calculation of resources for investment, on the basis of no more than four thousand houses in Pomerania, is made. The possibility of engaging in a merely European trade, even, is suggested.

Soon Usselinx went on to Stettin, and there, in September, 1631, after a long stay, presented to its council a memorial of similar purpose. Stettin was the chief commercial town of Pomerania, and during the past year the condition of that country had much improved; and Usselinx on both accounts seems more vigorous in the statement of his hopes, especially in the matter of further privileges and exemptions

to be expected from the king. For the rest, the paper is much like that presented at Stralsund, though with more amplification as to the conditions of agriculture and commerce in Pomerania; but that was to be expected, after so long a stay. He gives them a copy of his Stralsund memorial, as well as of his last one to the States General; the latter to show them how he had taught the very professors of commerce, though they had left their master too early, and so had not succeeded as they ought.

In making excuse for the long delays of the company, as he might well feel called on to do, Usselinx expresses in a very strong way his feeling that the war is far less profitable to Sweden than the company would be. He defends the king against what was evidently a current suspicion, that he might in the end confiscate the money subscribed; to do so would be plainly against his interest, for the company will be always bringing him gains, while the war brings him expenses. Assuring the council that the company will be established in any case, even if Pomerania remains out of it, he urges them, for their own interest, to enter into the project heartily.[158]

It is evident that Usselinx believed, or at any rate hoped, that the commercial phase of the united company would in the end prevail over the naval, and it become once more the South Company for which he had labored. The present state of the war might encourage him in this view. It has not seemed worth while to speak of the events of the war this year, so entirely remote does Usselinx seem to have been from the march of affairs. It gives a striking idea of this, if we remember that it was on the very day of the great battle of Breitenfeld, the decisive point in the career of Gustavus Adolphus and in the Thirty Years' War, that Usselinx was quietly presenting his memorial to the city fathers of Stettin. For nine whole months he had remained in Stettin, not inactive indeed, but active in an unpromising cause. He seems to have got some promises from the aged duke,

[158] Naerder aenwysinge, etc., Stettin, Sept. 7, 1631; Bibliog., II., No. 48. Kort verhael vande voorneemste pointen, etc.; Bibl., II., No. 50.

and from Stralsund and Stettin.[259] But it was not simply business which kept him there. He was in great straits for money. His journey and imprisonment had involved him in debt to the extent of four hundred rixdollars (say $400). Four hundred dalers had long been due him from the government; of the promised thousand dalers a year he had received only 500 dalers, and that in copper; and if he drank only water, he said, he had not enough money to buy him bread for more than three or four weeks more. Accordingly he wrote, almost in despair, to Carl Banér, whom the king had left with Alexander Leslie in charge of Stettin, begging him to intercede for him with the king. If the king desired him to go on with the matter, he ought to have an ampler commission, empowering him to present the matter to the electors of Saxony and Brandenburg, the dukes of Mecklenburg and Pomerania, the landgrave of Hesse, the free cities of the empire and other cities.

For Usselinx had become convinced that the company must be given a broader basis. "If the thing could be carried out in Sweden alone," he writes, "it would be better that it should be done there, to the exclusion of others. But since it appears to me, under correction, that affairs in Sweden are not so situated that a sufficient amount of capital for this matter can be obtained there, and that it cannot be undertaken without a large capital, it were better to have half an egg than an empty shell, and to allow others to enjoy a share of the profits, rather than to let the matter drop entirely or fail for lack of sufficient means." But if the king is indisposed to the whole affair, let him say so, and pay him

[259] Mercurius Germaniae, pp. 12, 31. Memorial of Sept. 11, 1636, (Bibl., II., No. 67), in the Kronijk of the Historisch Genootschap te Utrecht, xxix., p. 138. Dr. G. von Bülow, archivist of the Königliches Staatsarchiv in Stettin, after obligingly searching for me his archives, in which, as in the town archives, nothing appears concerning the stay of Usselinx in Stettin, has kindly sent me an extract concerning his efforts from the Altes Pommerland of Johann Micraelius, book iv., p. 123, (ed. of 1723). Micraelius was in Usselinx's time rector of a Latin school in Stettin. The extract, however, does not contain information not to be found in the Argonautica Gustaviana, Merc. Germ.

something, and let him go.[200] A melancholy conclusion indeed, after seven years of faithful labor for a great design.

VIII.—SCHEMES OF INCLUSION.

In all labor there is profit: but the talk of the lips tendeth only to penury.
PROV. xiv: 23.

It may not untruly be said, that the words which have just been quoted from the appeal to Carl Banér give the key-note of the activities of Usselinx during the remaining years of active life. Giving up the attempt to found a great commercial company upon the resources of the kingdom of Sweden alone, he addressed himself to schemes of inclusion. Other states were to be induced to join in it, in order that such a capital might be acquired as he thought necessary. The largeness of the scheme was obvious, and had great attractions for the projector's mind. But it was also obvious that in that age commercial alliances, or combined operations on the part of the commercial classes in various states, were exceedingly difficult to concert and to maintain. They must in general follow political connections. But in these years political alliances shifted too rapidly to give to commercial combinations which were based on them the stability which they would need in order to succeed. The idea of mercantile organizations transcending political boundaries, of international combinations of capital, was a good one, and was one day to prevail universally; but it could not yet make its way. It had the future with it; but it did not have the present. And to Usselinx himself the result was to be much fruitless travel, efforts necessarily made vain by ensuing political changes, and increasing disappointment. It may be that he was in advance of his age in this, as in some other things. But to say that a man is in advance of his age is not certainly praise. It is often a condemnation of his judgment, in comparison with that of him who keeps touch with his age and thereby maintains a practical hold upon it.

[200] Memorie voor . . . Carel Bannier, Stettin, Oct. 3, 1631; Bibliog., II., No. 49. Carl Banér, already mentioned as sent to France, p. 103, was appointed legate in Stettin on Dec. 15, 1630. Droysen, Gustaf Adolf, ii., p. 203.

It will perhaps be said that this stage in the career of Usselinx began rather with his efforts in Pomerania. But it must be remembered, in the first place, that Pomerania was regarded, at least by the Swedes, as almost as much Swedish territory as Livonia or Esthonia, since the king had conquered it and arranged to have the succession to its childless old duke. And, in the second place, what Usselinx had been doing there had perhaps been done as much in order to keep up some sort of activity during his enforced detention of a year, as with a full belief that the South Company was still likely to be pushed forward. At the end of the year he was still in Stettin, writing to the chancellor to express his hope that this long interval has not lessened the latter's good feeling toward him and the good cause, and his belief that the king's successes make the present an opportune time for taking the matter up again in earnest.[961]

It was true enough that the wonderful successes which had followed the victory at Breitenfeld, the victorious march into Southwestern Germany, the occupation of Würzburg, Frankfort, and Mainz, the possession of the region of the middle Rhine, made possible the revival of great commercial schemes; but the effect was slow to reach Usselinx. To be sure he in some way received the means to get away from Stettin; for in the beginning of April we find him in Mainz.[962] But that he had not come on an invitation flattering him with brilliant prospects through renewal of his project, appears from his beginning his brief letter thence to the chancellor with the old question, whether it is desired that he go on. If so, he proposes next to direct his efforts toward the city of Frankfort. A postscript, in which he holds out expectation of having a hundred good ships of war ready for the king's use the next year, shows how far his ideas were in solution, how unfixed his forecast of what his company might become.

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[961] Letter of Dec. 19, 1631; Bibliog., II., No. 51.

[962] Letter to Oxenstjerna, Mainz, April 3, 1632; Bibliog., II., No. 52. No trace of Usselinx's stay in Mainz appears in the archives of that city, as I learn through the kindness of Dr. Velke, the archivist.

Still, his turning to Frankfort at all shows that he had become firmly possessed with that idea of inclusion which has been described. Indeed, the Swedish conquests were now taking a form favorable to such a scheme. The more closely the policy of Gustavus approached to designs of permanent occupation of German territory, as they now seemed to be doing, the better the prospect of establishing a company thrown open to foreign, and especially German, subscribers.

Whether he achieved any success at Frankfort it is impossible to say. The records of the city council for April 19, 1632 (O. S.), show that Wilhelm Usselings requested them to assist his efforts in behalf of the South Company. The burgomasters' records for the same day show that Wilhelm Usselings, royal Swedish commissioner of the South Company, having requested such furtherance and the deputation of certain persons to hear him, Herr Hans Jacob Jeckel and Herr Johann Schwind were deputed for that purpose, with permission to associate some merchants with them upon the committee. A month later he applied again; the town council declined to have any thing to do with the company, but gave the merchants of the city permission to engage in it if they chose.[363]

When next we hear of Usselinx he is at Würzburg, and it is more than three months later. When he was at Frankfort the Swedes were at the height of their success in South Germany. Nuremberg and Donauwörth had been occupied, Tilly defeated and slain at the passage of the Lech, Augsburg, and soon after Munich, victoriously entered. But by the end of July the state of things was different. Wallenstein had again been raised to the command of the imperial forces. He had formed, over against Nuremberg, a vast intrenched camp, and was closely watching Gustavus and the Swedes encamped within the fortifications drawn around the city. The Swedish army was in much distress. To release

[363] Extracts from the Raths-Protokoll and the Bürgermeisterbuch on these two occasions (April 19, May 15, 1632), as on another occasion to be mentioned later, I owe to the kindness of Dr. H. Grotefend, archivist of the city of Frankfurt-am-Main.

himself from so uncomfortable a situation, continuance in which might prove fatal, the king had been obliged to recall various outlying detachments to the support of his main army. Leaving a successful campaign on the Rhine, Oxenstjerna had marched rapidly from Mainz to Würzburg, and was now about to join the king and engage in what seemed likely to be a decisive attack upon Wallenstein's strong intrenchment, a critical movement in the war.[264]

Few more inopportune moments could have been chosen for urging a commercial project. But Usselinx declares that this is after all not an unfavorable time, since with the present uncertainty of incomes and fortunes people will be glad to have this safe investment as a resource. That is, if their lands and other property go, they will have what they have here invested to fall back upon; reasoning more plausible than likely to be practically influential at such a time. So, if he can have half an hour of the king's time and an hour of the chancellor's, can have the charter renewed with the necessary amplifications, and can be given the necessary commission and recommendations, he feels sure that he can make this one of the greatest enterprises ever undertaken in the world. For its sake he has neglected offers amounting to a hundred thousand guilders. Being old, and unable to get along without a servant, and also observing how much more he could have effected if he could have kept up better outward appearances, he renews his request for better recompense,—or else for an honorable dismissal.

The amplifications here alluded to he had apparently drawn up some time before.[265] One of the most important of them was the entire removal of the territorial limits of the

[264] For these events I follow Droysen, Gustaf Adolf, ii.; here especially pp. 521–559, 597–623. It would appear from p. 615 that Oxenstjerna was in or near Würzburg on July 30th. The document next described is a short Memorie aengaende de Suyder Compagnie, of that place and date; Bibliog., II., No. 54. The phrase of the Patent oder offentlich Auszschreiben wegen dieses Vorhabens, of the Argonautica, implies that the Ampliatio had been prepared some years before.

[265] Artyckelen die in het Octroy dienen geamplieert, (Stockholm MSS.), Bibliog., II., No. 53, is Usselinx's draft.

company's operations. Another was the fixing of the time of beginning at the first of April, 1633. Foreign princes or cities subscribing sufficient sums might have "chambers" in cities outside Sweden, the general board of directors being correspondingly enlarged. Ships should for the first four years be free even of the four per cent. toll; after that, one third of the proceeds of it should be granted to these princes and states. If the subscription of such a power reached a certain amount, he or it should be represented by a member in the Council of the Indies. All the sums which had in the charter been expressed in Swedish dalers should now be expressed in rixdollars; the king's own subscription should be raised from four hundred thousand of the former to four hundred thousand of the latter, *i.e.*, should be increased about one-half. Finally, with patriotic care, Usselinx provided a chamber for the Brabant, Fleming, and Walloon exiles in all parts of Europe. Whenever the navigation of the Scheldt should be thrown open and they should regain their freedom, this chamber should be located at Antwerp.

This last provision never went into force. The others were eventually accepted, freedom of toll being restricted, however, to ships going beyond Gibraltar. As already said, it was only this extension which brought within the limits of the patent the soil on which New Sweden was afterward placed.[266] But this is anticipating a little. At present this amendment or extension of the charter was not signed. It was drawn up, or at least those parts of it which were approved, and subscribed "Done at Nuremberg, the 16th of October, in the year of Christ 1632." The time and place are worth noticing. At the news of Wallenstein's march into Saxony, Gustavus Adolphus had turned back at Neuburg from the expedition toward the lake of Constance in which he had engaged after the breaking-up of the two

[266] Documentary collections, such as the New York Colonial Documents, vol. xii., and Poore's Constitutions, have mostly lost sight of this fact, and given, or referred to, only the charter of 1626. But that charter, by the very terms of its first article, is seen not to include the soil of Delaware, nor to be its fundamental document except as amplified in 1633.

hostile camps at Nuremberg. He sent his army by Nördlingen and Rothenburg northward toward Erfurt; but turning aside himself, rode to Nuremberg with a small force to have a last conference with his faithful chancellor. As if with a presentiment that this might be their last interview, he described to Oxenstjerna the arrangements he wished to have made for the government of his kingdom in case of his death. It was in the midst of such business that the king found time to have the amplifications of the South Company's charter drawn up, ready for his signature; but he left the city without signing them, and rode away to his glorious victory and early death at Lützen three weeks later.[267]

How little importance the king attached to Usselinx personally, during his last months, may be seen from the fact that we find him suggesting to others a plan having some things in common with his, yet quite without thinking, apparently, of using him in the matter at all. At a time when his operations in the Palatinate seemed likely to bring on not only collision with Spain but a declaration of war against her, Gustavus wrote to the council, to Oxenstjerna, and to his brother-in-law the palsgrave John Casimir, suggesting the establishment of a maritime company or "admiralty" at Gothenburg for the special purpose of committing depredations and making reprisals upon Spanish commerce. In this he proposed to make use of the services of Abraham van Velden, a Dutch shipbuilder at Gothenburg; but no mention is made of Usselinx, who seems to have known nothing of the scheme, much as it in some respects resembled his own.[268]

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[267] The Ampliatio (of which more hereafter) is given, with the date mentioned as the original date, in Argonautica Gustaviana, pp. 18, 19. On Gustavus' movements, Droysen, Gustaf Adolf, ii., pp. 634, 653–656. Harte, History of Gustavus Adolphus, ii., Appendix, speaks of him as arriving at Nuremberg on Oct. 15th, and leaving on Oct. 17th; but it appears from Droysen, ii., p. 658, that he was there on the 14th.

[268] R. M. Klinckowström, Arkiv till Upplysning om Svenska krigens och krigsinrättningarnes Historia, i., pp. 623, 625, quoting letters to Oxenstjerna, Augsburg, May 23, 1632, and to John Casimir, Fürth, June 9, 1632.

In the arguments in the royal council upon this proposition, mention is made of injuries inflicted by Spain upon the merchant vessels of the Ship Company. The combined company had, in fact, not wholly neglected the pursuit of commerce, for which the South Company had originally been formed, though nearly all its efforts were given to providing ships for the royal navy. In 1630, apparently, it had at least sent one ship to Archangel. In October, 1631, there were discussions in the council which give us instructive glimpses into its management. Officers of the company appeared before the council, declaring that seven of its ships lay at the quay (near the Söderström in Stockholm) of which they wished to send two to France and two to Spain. But they wished a grant of 20,000 rixdollars with which to buy a cargo. The council rated them soundly for their neglectful management, and declared that they had received subscriptions enough to have fitted out their expedition adequately, if they had attended to the matter properly. The directors threw the blame on delinquent subscribers, and represented the slightness of their resources in comparison with the magnitude of the undertaking. The council thereupon censured them again with great severity, saying that if they talked in this way they would frighten every one from investing. "Thereupon," the record says, "the Directors answered, that they said this *sub rosa*, and only to the council; with others they used quite different arguments." [369]

In the course of these discussions, one of the directors had strongly dissuaded from sending any ships to Spain, having much apprehension that, in the present state of affairs, the Spanish government would seize them. It appears, however, that four or five vessels were sent thither either then or in the next spring, and the Spanish government did in

Droysen, Gustaf Adolf, ii., p. 460. Droysen dates this last May 9th, which seems to be an error; p. 585 it appears that Gustavus reached Fürth on June 8th. On Dec. 6 and Dec. 7, 1632, the council in Sweden debated at length the matter, which had been proposed to them by a letter from the king, also written June 9th; Riksrådets Protokoll, ii., pp. 243–251. On Van Velden, *id.*, iii., p. 4.

[369] Svenska Riksrådets Protokoll, ii., pp. 91, 92, 116–119.

fact seize and detain them. Such was the fate of the company's first considerable commercial adventure. It was alleged that the mischance occurred through the incompetence or treachery of the company's supercargo or through the negligence of Kabbeljouw and the other directors. The latter were prosecuted by the shareholders before the supreme court, and at first condemned; but on new evidence they were afterward acquitted, though they were at the same time ordered to give an account of their administration.[370]

Some time before the death of Gustavus, in the abundant leisure which the state of his projects unfortunately left him, Usselinx, leaving the actual company to take care of itself, occupied himself by preparing a discourse in the interest of the company as he hoped to make it. He called it "Mercurius Germaniae, that is, Special Exposition for Germany," its object being to set forth to the Germans the advantages of his commercial project, and to induce them to engage in it, under the amplified charter which was to admit them to participation with the Swedes. It is worth attention not only as being the last considerable composition printed by Usselinx, but also for the intrinsic merit and interest of its arguments. He first exposes the advantages which, for such matters, Germany has over Sweden, many of them being such as he set forth in his Pomeranian memorials. The good relations of the king and the Germans are specially

[370] Riksrådets Protokoll, ii., pp. 154, 178, 245; iii., *passim*. Notitie van 't gene, etc., of Sept. 11, 1636, in the Kronijk of the Historisch Genootschap te Utrecht (Bibliog., II., No. 67), xxix., p. 138. Loccenius, Historiae Suecanae libri ix., p. 556: "Non tamen ex sententia progressum res habuit, navibus Sueticis ea causa instructis atque expeditis in itinere ab Hispano, in Caesaris ac Poloni gratiam, et per administratorum incuriam attentis. Etiamsi vero illud, praeter alia onera, gravius non paucis accideret; hoc ipso tamen levius erat, quod in usum publicum ac militiae ista pecunia postmodo converteretur." In this last he seems to have the order of events wrong. C. T. Odhner, Sveriges Inre Historia under Drottning Christinas Förmyndare, translated by Prof. Keen in Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography, vii., p. 269. Harte, History of Gustavus Adolphus, i., p. 80. I have not space to follow up the matter of the suit. It was said that the Lubeckers had given information to Gabriel de Roy, who intercepted the ships; the men were imprisoned in Spain more than six weeks. Protokoll, iii., pp. 94, 98.

dwelt upon. He declares it to be a fallacy, that the trade of one country cannot grow save by the decrease of that of some other country. The advantages enumerated as common to both Germany and Sweden are the same with which we are already familiar,—the increase of population, the lightening of the burden of taxation, and the great extension and improvement of trade. There are other and higher objects which may be subserved,—the relief and prosperity of all Germany, the increase of the honor of God, and the spread of His Word. This alone would suffice, if we were all as zealous Christians as we should be. On bishops and pastors in Sweden this has had much effect, "where also a special prayer has been composed for this, and is read at public worship and hours of prayer."

It is in the answering of supposed objections that Usselinx is at his best in this discourse. If some one says: Give us peace and there will be trade enough, he replies that there is little prospect of peace, and that, even if peace were perpetual, the enterprise is equally desirable. For though he has not done much business in Germany himself, he is sure, from what he has heard, that it was never any too rich, and that chiefly for lack of foreign trade, bringing in wealth from without. As to its being an unchristian monopoly, it is, on the contrary, open to all, and involves nothing of that usury which is so terribly prevalent in Germany. Some say that the examples of other nations are discouraging. But the English are doing well enough in Virginia, Bermuda, and the East Indies. The French are too distrustful, impatient, and fickle. The Danes mismanaged. The Dutch West India Company has not been wholly unsuccessful, especially in the Guinea trade; here Usselinx finds an opportunity to describe the good advice he had given them when resident in the Netherlands, and again in 1629, together with the perilous services rendered that year. The accusation of long delays gives him still further opportunity for such statement.

Passing over some minor objections and their answers, we may note certain political ones. Some think, he says,

that if the war goes wrong, the king of Sweden will confiscate our investments, as those of enemies, while the emperor will punish us for joining in a Swedish enterprise. As for the king of Sweden, it is answered, his promises and his character are a sufficient guaranty; while the emperor will have no right, desire, or power to suppress the company. No right, because it is a perfectly legal corporation. The king of Sweden goes into it, but as a private person, and the company was formed before he probably had any design of making war in Germany (a somewhat specious argument). Nor can the emperor rightfully attack it on Spain's account, for it has no designs against Spain, herein differing from the Dutch West India Company, which he forbade his subjects to enter. (This does not quite consist with some of Usselinx's recent private arguments, which have been mentioned, as to the utility of his project as a war measure.) Also, such action will be against the emperor's interest, and there is little chance of a victory so complete as to render it possible; equally is it against the king of Sweden's interest. Others hesitate to go into business with princes; but, he says, it is not as if one were going into a partnership of two with a king. There will be many of all kinds, and all will watch all; and the management will be in the hands of merchants.

The difficulty of bringing about a combination so extensive, Usselinx confesses to be great. "I have brought on myself thereby," he says, "trouble and labor enough hitherto, and various lawsuits, and perversity, hatred, envy, and derision, sometimes indeed have become quite tired and disgusted with it; yet I must say, that with good and sensible people it never went so altogether badly." To the objection that he is old, and that if he should die the scheme might fall through, he says: "And if now it should not be pleasing to God the Lord, that His house should be built by me on account of my sins, as he said to David, 1 Chron. xxii., 8, and He should, therefore, even take me out of this world, there certainly would not be lacking to Him in such a case a Solomon who, blessed with more wisdom and higher gifts, should help bring it to a successful beginning. Should it

even please Him through my death entirely to bring this work to naught, the will of the Lord be done, who knows better what is expedient and good for us than we ourselves." Again, he says, and the words are very characteristic: "Age or youth, reckoned by years, is of little consequence; for according to the proverb, you see a calf-skin brought to market as often as an ox-hide. And, as a matter of fact, I can truly say, as Caleb said to Joshua, I am to-day sixty-six years old, and I find myself still as fresh and strong as forty years ago, when I first took in hand the West India Company in the Netherlands." The reader of the Mercurius Germaniae can well forgive the author some of his vanity and prolixity, in consideration of courage and vigor so unabated after so many disappointments.[271]

With the Mercurius Germaniae written but not yet printed, and the amplifications of the charter drawn up but not yet signed, the death of Gustavus Adolphus must at first have been a very grievous blow to Usselinx. But the chief power in Sweden, as foremost in the regency of the five great officers of state, and the chief influence in the councils of the allies in Germany, fell naturally into the hands of Chancellor Oxenstjerna. And Oxenstjerna was as well disposed as the king had been to projects of great commercial combinations; he had once written to the king on this subject: "Companies, indeed, I formerly held to be useful, and do still deem that those for foreign commerce are of great benefit."[272] An opportunity soon occurred of doing something for the company with the representatives of a large part of Germany.

During the first months after the death of the king, affairs were principally conducted, without general authorization, by Oxenstjerna. But in March, 1633, in order that more formal and regular arrangements might be concluded, he summoned at Heilbronn a convention of those German allies of Sweden who were of the four upper circles, or administrative sub-

[271] The Mercurius Germaniae was printed only in the Argonautica Gustaviana, the next year (1633); reprinted in Marquardus, De Jure, etc. See Bibliography, I., Nos. 26 and 27.

[272] Geijer, History of the Swedes, tr. Turner, pp. 290, 295.

divisions, of the empire. Here accordingly met, in the house occupied by Oxenstjerna, the old house of the Teutonic Order at Heilbronn, the Protestant princes, and other estates of the circle of Swabia, Franconia, the Upper Rhine, and the Lower Rhine, and with them the embassadors of France, England, and the Netherlands. The chief deliberations were concerning the conduct of the war; the chief result the concluding of a definite alliance between Sweden and the estates of the four circles, the direction of affairs being given to Oxenstjerna, assisted by a council, half German, half Swedish. A treaty, negotiated by the Sieur de Feuquières, a relative of Richelieu's famous Père Joseph, was also signed here in April with France, whose influence in the war now began to be exerted more fully.[273]

Yet time was found to consider the projected company for the West Indies. At the instance of Oxenstjerna, Hektor Mithobius, an ecclesiastic of Württemberg, laid the matter before the assembly, suggesting it as a means of acquiring resources for the war. Usselinx presented to the convention an astonishingly brief memorial, in which he gives eight reasons for supporting the company (especially dwelling on its use toward creating naval strength), together with a summary of the gains the Dutch have made in such ways. On the 10th of April the chancellor signed the amplification of the charter, appending the declaration that though it was left unsigned by the king, he knew that it expressed the latter's desire, and therefore, in virtue of his authority as legate, signed it himself.[274]

[273] On the Convention at Heilbronn, Queen Christina's autobiography, and the Histoire de ce qui s'est passé après la mort du Grand Gustave, in Arckenholtz, Mémoires concernant Christine, reine de Suède, iii., pp. 37–39, 83–87. Mémoires du Cardinal de Richelieu, in Michaud and Poujoulat, xxii., pp. 456–458. Lettres du Cardinal de Richelieu, ed. Avenel, iv., p. 448.

[274] Memorial to the council of Frankfort, in August, 1633, Bibliography, II., No. 57. Briefue Declaration, Paris, Dec. 1, 1634, Bibliog., II., No. 59. Also, the rare tract, Ampliation oder Erweiterung . . . der vier Ober Crăysen, spoken of at the end of No. 26 in my Bibliographical Appendix, I. I do not think I can be wrong in identifying the N. Mithonius of this last, and the Herr Mitovius of the Frankfort memorial, with the Hektor Mithobius whom Oxenstjerna in 1634 made ecclesiastical superintendent at Halberstadt, and who

The charter in its amplified form, with arrangements for the inclusion of Germany, and with January 1, 1634, fixed as the term for subscriptions, had now received legal sanction. Usselinx at once got the amplifications into print, and with them two other short tracts or circulars. The one was a brief summary of the principal advantages of the enterprise, winding up with the declaration that this work tends to the honor of God and the benefit of the whole German nation. The other was a circular of directions as to the mode of making subscriptions, giving also practical suggestions as to clubbing together for joint subscriptions.[275] On May 1st, Oxenstjerna, still at Heilbronn, signed a commission, which seems, like the charter, to have been drawn up for the king's signature, empowering Usselinx, as "commissioner and chief director of the new South Company and navigation," to go about advocating it and collecting subscriptions.[276]

The printing of three small tracts was not enough to content Usselinx. He urged upon the chancellor the need of printing in one book a collection of his writings upon the subject of the company. It would make, he said, a book of about forty sheets, and four or five thousand copies ought to be distributed, so that it would cost five or six hundred dalers (say $400) and take about a month's time.[277] The

afterward had similar office at Ratzeburg; Allg. Deutsche Biographie, s. v. Christina, in Arckenholtz, iii., p. 38. Khevenhiller, Annales Ferdinandei, xii., p. 535. The document presented by Usselinx is the Memorial oder Auszug, etc., Bibliog., II., No. 55. The amplification was printed in a separate edition at Heilbronn in April of this year, Ampliatio oder Erweiterung (Bibliog., I., No. 23), and reprinted in the Argonautica Gustaviana (No. 26), pp. 17–20, and twice (*i.e.*, from both these) in Joh. Marquardus, De Jure Mercatorum, etc., pp. 388–391, 552–554 (Bibliog., I., No. 27). It is also to be found in Khevenhiller, xii., pp. 548–551.

[275] Kurtzer Extract der Vornemsten Hauptpuncten, etc.; Instruction oder Anleitung, etc. See Bibliography, I., Nos. 24 and 25. Both appear, the latter little changed, the former much, in the Argonautica, and in both forms in Marquardus. See Bibliography, I., Nos. 26, 27. The Kurtzer Extract is to be found reprinted in Khevenhiller, Annales Ferdinandei, xii., pp. 551–553.

[276] The commission is to be found in the Argonautica Gustaviana, Mercurius Germaniae, pp. 49–51.

[277] Letter to the chancellor, undated; but as it speaks of seven months yet remaining to get subscriptions in, I place it in May, 1633; Bibliog., II., No. 56.

chancellor seems to have furnished the money; and the result is the Argonautica Gustaviana, a book of 127 pages folio, in German, the largest and most important of the publications of Usselinx. It is in fact in large part a composite formed by reprinting several former publications on the South Company. It begins with a quaint title, of portentous length even in that age of long titles, including bodily those three verses at the end of 1 Kings ix., which describe how King Solomon made a navy of ships in Ezion-geber, and how from Ophir they fetched gold, four hundred and twenty talents, and brought it to King Solomon. The book is announced as printed with the license of the crown of Sweden, at Frankfort-on-the-Main, in the month of June, 1633.[278]

The first item in the contents of the book is a proclamation or patent by Oxenstjerna, dated Frankfort, June 26, 1633, giving notice of the renewal of the charter with amplifications and the reappointment of Usselinx, and charging all to assist in so good a work. The recent circular summary follows. Then, upon the reverse of a leaf, a Latin poem of ten lines has been added, from good-will and to fill out the page (*ne pagina vacaret*), praying for God's blessing upon the enterprise. It is signed "I. B.," and may perhaps have been written by Johan Beyer, afterward secretary to the queen and postmaster-general of the kingdom, who was, as we shall see, one of the writer's friends. After this floweret of verse, are printed the charter with its amplifications, the prospectus of 1624, and the Auszführlicher Bericht of 1626 with its appendices. Then ensues, as a second part, the recently written Mercurius Germaniae, followed by a reprint of the directions for subscribers, and by various documents of the years 1629 and 1630,—the letter of Gustavus to the States General, Usselinx's memorial to them, their proceedings,—the volume ending with the recent commission as commissioner and chief director.

[278] For the title and bibliography of the Argonautica, see Appendix, I., No. 26. Dr. Friedrich Kapp, Peter Minnerwit aus Wesel, Hist. Zeitschrift, xv., p. 240, says that the Argonautica is the earliest German book or pamphlet on emigration.

The contents of the book are already familiar to the reader. It is an autobiographical source of the first value. But, among the few writers who have said any thing of this part of the author's career, its publication has perhaps created a false or exaggerated impression of renewed success of a pronounced sort. It is true that its publication is evidence of renewed interest on the part of Oxenstjerna, but commensurate results do not seem to have been attained even before the great military disaster which destroyed all. The matter was taken up again at a convention, similar to that of Heilbronn, held in Frankfort in August and September.[279] In August, too, Usselinx appealed to the municipal council of that city in a very long memorial, of which the most interesting part is a narration of the aggressions committed in various parts of Europe during the last seventy years by the king of Spain, who has looked on from the Escurial at the conflagration he has kindled, "like Nero from the Tarpeian rock while Rome was burning." The object of this is to show that Spain is the cause of all, and that Germany can have no peace until the root of the matter, the Spanish power in the West Indies, is attacked; and the king of Spain, he says, fears this company more than even the Dutch West India Company, knowing that I shall start it upon a sounder basis. It may be interesting to note that he attributes to old councillor Viglius, president of the royal council at Brussels, the saying, "Nescis quantilla prudentia homines regantur," which is so often attributed to Oxenstjerna.[280]

The request of Usselinx that the city fathers should publish the chancellor's proclamation or patent of June 26th, with their official recommendation, was acceded to by them in September. In October Nuremberg also reissued it with the same words of formal endorsement.[281] But whether

[279] Briefue Declaration, Paris, Dec. 1, 1634; Bibl., II., No. 59. Arckenholtz, Mémoires de Christine, iii., p. 104. Richelieu, Mémoires, xxii., pp. 459, 460.

[280] Memorial to the town-council of Frankfort, Aug., 1633; Bibl., II., No. 57.

[281] Usselinx made this request on Sept. 12th, and the authorities acceded to it the same day; extracts from the Raths-Protokolle and Bürgermeisterbuch for

either city did or could do any thing more for the cause under their present burdens, may be doubted. At all events when Usselinx, in November, wrote, in Frankfort, to the chancellor, it was in any thing but a cheerful strain ; the time for getting subscriptions had nearly expired, he despaired of success, and begged for dismissal and a pass.[282]

The first of January went by, and nothing had been done. At the end of March, in order to compose dissensions and provide for concert in the conduct of the war, the Protestant allies of Sweden, of the four upper circles, were gathered together in convention at Frankfort. The meeting lasted all the summer. At some time during these conferences Dr. Jacob Löffler, chancellor of Württemberg and vice-chancellor of Sweden, introduced the subject of the company again. Usselinx talked with the members and presented to their attention various documents, and especially the Argonautica Gustaviana. After the very mature deliberation which was characteristic of German diets, they had resolved to take the matter up in good earnest, with some changes in the charter. The next day came the news that the Swedes and their allies, under Duke Bernhard of Saxe-Weimar and Field-Marshal Horn, had sustained a terrible defeat before Nördlingen at the hands of the Cardinal Infante and the king of Hungary.[283]

This defeat was as serious a blow to the allies as that of Breitenfeld had been to the imperialists. Queen Christina tells us that the only two occasions on which the calm

that day, kindly sent me by Dr. H. Grotefend, archivist of Frankfurt-am-Main. I have a copy of the Frankfort reissue, dated Sept. 12th, from the archives at Stockholm, Oxenstj. Samling. A copy of the Nuremberg reissue, dated October 4th, I owe to the kindness of Dr. Mummenhoff, city archivist of Nuremberg.

[282] Letter or request, Frankfort, Nov. 14, 1633 ; Bibl., II., No. 58.

[283] Arckenholtz, Mémoires de Christine, iii., pp. 140–145. Briefue Declaration ; Bibl., II., No. 59. Ampliation oder Erweiterung. . . von die Deputirten. . . der vier Ober Cräysen zu Franckfurth, etc. This rare piece is described at the end of the Bibl., I., No. 26 ; its date is printed as Dec. 12, 1634, but this is altered in an old hand to Sept. 17th or 19th. This would agree better with the facts mentioned as to the battle of Nördlingen, which occurred on August 26th and 27th, O. S. Geijer, tr., p. 301.

Oxenstjerna was unable to sleep at night were after the death of Gustavus and after the battle of Nördlingen.[284] Allies fell away. The elector of Saxony made a separate peace. Usselinx perceived that all hope for the company was gone. And as in the political world all were turning to France and Richelieu as the one resource now left, he, too, resolved to repair to Paris and there seek assistance for his scheme, while the Swedish envoys were negotiating the treaty that first brought French troops into the Thirty Years' War.

From the very beginning of his ministry, Richelieu had given great attention to naval and commercial affairs. He had urged, as among the most important means of increasing and maintaining the greatness of France, the fostering of its colonies and its commerce. Moreover, it had been distinctly his plan that this should be done by companies, after the Dutch and English examples, sustained by special privileges and monopolies, with capital acquired by subscription, with some aid from the government and certain exemptions from the payment of customs duties. These companies were to be supported by the naval power of France, and were to have an eye to the interests of religion, as well as of France. Public opinion favored such designs. A number of such companies had been set up under his administration: the Compagnie de la Nacelle de St. Pierre in 1625, the Compagnie du Morbihan, for America, in 1626, the Compagnie des Cent-Associés, for Canada, in 1627, the Compagnie des Îles d' Amérique in the same year, companies for Guiana and Senegambia in 1633. This same winter he had under consideration the reissue of the charter of the company for the islands of America. The cardinal was therefore definitely committed to a policy resembling closely in many respects that which Usselinx was about to urge upon him; even the purpose of ruining the transatlantic power of Spain was by no means absent from it.[285]

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[284] In Arckenholtz, iii., p. 46.

[285] Here I have used two articles by M. Léon Deschamps, La question coloniale en France au temps de Richelieu et de Mazarin, in the Revue de Géo-

This last is the chief point insisted on in the first paper which Usselinx, in such French as he could command, addressed, soon after his arrival, to king Louis XIII. and the royal council. To undermine the power of the king of Spain was a political object of prime importance, and this the king could easily achieve if he would enter into the Swedish South Company with a sum of five or six millions of livres, a sum not lost, as war contributions were, but to be regarded as an investment, sure to yield a great profit.[286]

It appears that in November, not long after his arrival in Paris, Usselinx had strong hopes of succeeding in this effort to secure the assistance of the great power of the French monarchy. But his memorial, given in at the beginning of December, did not produce the desired effect. Thirty years later, it is interesting to note, Colbert, a diligent student of the papers of Richelieu, revived a scheme much like this, inviting the princes of Germany and the North to engage in the East and West India companies just established in France. But Richelieu seems to have thought France strong enough to conduct her own colonial enterprises, rather than engage in a company which would be under Swedish direction. Usselinx, in a second memorial, combated this view, urging that, if France put in most money, she would control the organization. Many other reasons were urged for co-operation on a large scale (the first expedition he thought should be of a hundred ships!), among them this, sound though expressed in the terms of antique medical science, that "the French, being of a prompt and active nature, partaking of fire and air, . . . it would be well to mix them with those who are a little phlegmatic and melancholic, par-

graphie for November and December, 1885, pp. 363–375, 440–452; the beginning of one by H. Pigeonneau, La politique coloniale de Colbert, in the Annales de l' École Libre des Sciences Politiques, i., 4, pp. 487–492; Martin, Histoire de France, xi., pp. 318–320, 427, 428.

[286] Briefue Declaration de la principale Cause qui m'a esmeu de venir en France, Paris, Dec. 1, 1634 (N.S. probably); Bibliog., I., No. 59. I am indebted for a copy of this from the Archives des Affaires Étrangères in Paris to the kind offices of our Secretary of Legation, Mr. Henry Vignaud; there is also a copy of it among my transcripts from Stockholm.

taking of earth and water, to make a more tempered mixture."[287] But in spite of all reasonings, the scheme was not adopted, the company for the isles of America was rechartered, and Usselinx, baffled in both Germany and France in his grand projects of inclusion, betook himself to the Netherlands.

It seems to have been still necessary for him to have *sureté de corps* in order to enter Holland; this can hardly have been because of his old debts, but was perhaps rather because of some contracted in 1629 and 1630. Such *sureté* was given him by the States of Holland, on request of the Dutch ambassador in Paris.[288] Perhaps he re-entered his country in the train of Oxenstjerna, who in April, 1635, proceeded to Compiègne and Paris to negotiate a treaty with Richelieu, and went thence in May to the Netherlands.[289] At all events it is pleasant to know that at Amsterdam he gave the poor man two hundred rixdollars, though by September, when he next wrote to the chancellor, this time from Hamburg, they were all gone (for clothes and travelling expenses). Meanwhile he had been trying to do something for the company at Emden, with the Count of East Friesland, and at Bremen. Here at Hamburg, where he was with Johan Beyer, though individuals did something, the council were loth to lose the Spanish trade or to offend the emperor, who, it was rumored, was again preparing, as in 1628, to erect a rival company of great extent. Since the peace made by the elector of Saxony and the reverses of Sweden, all were deterred from such plans as those of Usselinx by fear of the emperor. Seeing no chance of reviving the German project, Usselinx, whose fertility in schemes was boundless, suggests a union with the Dutch West India Company.[290]

[287] Letter of Arent de Groote to Usselinx, London, Dec. $\frac{8}{18}$, 1634, (Stockholm MSS.). Deschamps, *ubi sup.*, p. 370. Briefue Deduction par Laquelle est monstre, etc., Paris, Feb. 13, 1635; Bibl., II., No. 60.

[288] Extract uit het Appointementboek der Staten van Holland en West Vriesland, March 26, 1635, N. S. (Albany MSS.).

[289] Arckenholtz, iii., pp. 89, 147. Lettres, etc., du Cardinal de Richelieu, ed. Avenel, iv., pp. 694, 735, 750.

[290] Letter of Hamburg, Sept. 4, 1635; Bibl., II., No. 61. As the Amplia-

The chancellor was at this time in Magdeburg, probably in the midst of the mutiny there, and had no time to heed this suggestion then. But Usselinx, going on unweariedly to meet him at Stralsund, again addressed him upon the matter, suggesting, with a serene disregard of the condition in which Swedish affairs actually lay, the means for starting the company at once. He proposes soon to visit Lubeck and Danzig. Meanwhile he renews his suggestion of combination with the Dutch in a slightly different form, namely, the erection in the Netherlands of a South Company, additional to those now existing, and its combination with that of Sweden. He expresses his willingness to be employed in this matter, and to counteract the tendencies toward a truce now shown at the Hague, as he did in 1607 and 1629.[291]

It appears that the chancellor himself, while at the Hague in 1635, had made some suggestions as to combined commercial operations on the part of Sweden and the Netherlands.[292] He was therefore not ill-disposed toward this last scheme of Usselinx, and gave him the necessary permission. The journey of Usselinx to the Hague was marked by the usual interviewing of town-councils. The magistrates of Lubeck declared they could do nothing, for the burdens of the war. At Hamburg, where he had to wait several weeks for letters from Camerarius, there was the same feeling. Emden was as well disposed as ever. Coming into the provinces of Groningen, Friesland, and Overijssel at a time

tion oder Erweiterung . . . der vier Ober Crāysen (see note 283, and Bibl., I., No.26, *ad fin.*) was printed, contrary to what we should expect, at Hamburg in 1635, I conjecture that Usselinx got it printed at this time.

[291] Geijer, tr. Turner, p. 306. Memorial van 't gene noodich is, etc., Stralsund, Nov. 9, 1635 ; Bibl., II., No. 62. Oxenstjerna was in Stralsund at the end of the year ; Moser, Patriotisches Archiv, vi., p. 204.

[292] Van Rees, Geschiedenis der Staathuishoudkunde in Nederland, ii., p. 138, note, quotes a statement of Usselinx to this effect, from a letter accompanying, in the Royal Archives at the Hague, the Korte Aenwysinge of April 21, 1636. The letter which is sent me from those archives as having accompanied that memorial is not a letter from Usselinx, but a letter to him from "a minister of the crown of Sweden at Stockholm," dated Dec. 31, 1636, (O. S.). There is obviously some mistake here, which I have not the means of rectifying before the printing of this monograph.

when the States of those provinces were about to assemble, he presented the matter to them; and they charged their deputies to the States General to further the scheme, so far as could be done without prejudice to the West India Company. This was indeed the difficult point, and that which made success unlikely. However, a persuasive memorial was prepared, and given to the States General, dated April 21, 1636.[293]

The design of this company was rather for opposing Spain than for peaceful commerce; for Usselinx, throughout his long career and in his many prolix memorials, inclines now chiefly to the one purpose, now to the other. The familiar dangers from Spain do not stand alone, however. He has it on good authority that the emperor is planning great companies of a similar sort. The envoy recently sent out by the duke of Holstein to Persia had told him that in their Persian Company they were going to have no Dutchmen; the scheme was in fact directed against Dutch commerce, and many other such were likely to follow. Against such dangers it were better to combine with Sweden than for both to suffer from mutual competition. And since the resources of the state and of the East and West India Companies were already more than sufficiently occupied, it were better to start a new South Company for this special purpose. This need not in any way interfere with the operations of the West India Company, but rather will coöperate in a common object; nor can that company, now that more than half the time of its charter is gone, justly prevent others from trading to places which it has not approached.[294]

Such were the outlines of Usselinx's great scheme, the

[293] Usselinx to the chancellor, then in Stralsund, April 30, 1636; (Bibliography, II., No. 64), with postscript dated May 9th. J. Tjassens, in his Zeepolitie der vereenichde Nederlanden, p. 78, mentions this visit and its object. Tjassens was burgomaster of Groningen at a little later time. Both in the letter and in the postscript Usselinx asks for money; he has even had to do without a servant. It appears that the chancellor had given him 300 rixdollars in December.

[294] Korte aenwysinge vande Nutticheden, etc., April 21, 1636; Bibl., II., No. 63. On the duke of Holstein's Persian Company, Geijer, p. 295.

last of his great schemes which received any considerable amount of public attention. In his vigorous pushing of the scheme he had more aid than usual from others. Camerarius, the ambassador, spoke to Prince Frederick Henry of the matter. Count Flodorp assisted, and so did the Dutchman, Peter Spiring, who had just come as Swedish envoy to get Dutch help in the German war.[295] Usselinx himself had an interview with the prince. But the scheme had certain obvious defects. To Usselinx it seemed most likely that the opposition to it would come mostly from the desire of truce or peace with Spain, of which the unfortunate campaign of 1635 had, in spite of the recent close alliance with France, occasioned some danger during the last few months.[296] But the main difficulty was in reality another one. The States General, the States of Holland, and the Nineteen of the West India Company went through the usual amount of slow deliberation and reference one to another, back and forth; but, though at one time they seemed favorable, the central point could not be missed by the representatives of communities of shrewd and experienced merchants, namely, that when the Swedish South Company had a real existence, it would be time to talk of combining with it, but not before.[297]

[295] Letters to Oxenstjerna, of Apr. 30th, June 10th, and Aug. 1st and 29th, and Sept. 12th; Bibliography, II., Nos. 64, 65, 66. "Adrianus Balthasarus de Flodorp," mentioned as an agent of the States General in a letter of Gustavus Adolphus to them in Moser, Patriotisches Archiv, vi., p. 5, seems to be the person meant. The Flodorffs or Flodorps were counts in Limburg; Kneschke, Deutsche Adels-Lexikon, iii., p. 283. Peter Spiring, prominent in the history of the first settlement of Delaware, was a Dutchman who (or his brother) had made himself rich in the Swedish service by a post connected with the toll at Danzig, so odious to the Netherlanders. He came over twice this year. Arend, Algemeene Geschiedenis des Vaderlands, iii: 4, pp. 865, 866; iii: 5, p. 142.

[296] Wenzelburger, Geschichte der Niederlande, ii., pp. 927–937.

[297] The letters mentioned in note 295. Resolutions of the States General, Apr. 24, July 26, Aug. 11, 1636, (Albany MSS.). Resolutions of the States of Holland and W. Fr., June 6, July 28, July 31, 1636, in the transcripts from Leiden mentioned in earlier foot-notes. A copy of the first of these three Holland resolutions (in which Usselinx is styled *Sieur* Willem Usselincx) is among the Albany transcripts; the last two I also have from the Hague. Asher, Dutch Books and Pamphlets, p. 55, mentions all three, though he gives the

The reply of Usselinx on this point is an interesting one, on two grounds. In the first place, it shows us something about the state of the company, or rather of its subscription books; and in the second place, it gives us a glimpse at one or two of his defects, beside telling us some facts of his history, mostly already utilized in this account. The crown of Sweden, he says, to begin with his figures, comes in with 400,000 rixdollars, that is to say, a million guilders or florins. The bishops and pastors and various private persons contribute about the same. The nobles and towns have promised thirty-six ships, of which eighteen are already built; these, at 25,000 guilders each, are equal to 900,000 guilders. The riksdag has voted that each farmer should for four years contribute a Swedish ton of grain each year, which, assuming 150,000 of them, will make 600,000 tons Swedish. This, at forty guilders a last, will make a million guilders and a half; for the Swedish ton of grain, now one twenty-first of a Dutch last, he reckons at one sixteenth. Livonia, Prussia, Pomerania, and Emden have declared a desire to enter, if they can each have a chamber of direction. Suppose each subscribes only enough for this, 150,000 rixdollars apiece, that is another million and a half. The chancellor and others have subscribed 110,000 rixdollars, equal to 275,000 florins. The grand total is therefore 6,175,000 florins, (about $2,500,000). This calculation, he says, had been made for the Swedish chancellor.[398]

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date of the second wrongly. But in his brief summary of the first he writes: "Proposals of the crown of Sweden made by the resident Swedish minister William Usselincx," etc.; Usselinx was never Swedish minister at the Hague, nor does the resolution say any thing of the sort.

[398] Notitie van 't geene, etc., Sept. 11, 1636, printed in the Kronijk of the Historisch Genootschap te Utrecht, xxix., pp. 135–140; see Bibliog., II., No. 67. At the end is printed an extract from a letter of Johan Beyer, dated Stockholm, Aug. $\frac{8}{18}$, which Usselinx gave in with his memorial. In this he says that it would be well, while the chancellor is here, which may be for two months more, to send Usselinx to Holland to further their commercial designs. I take it that this document is the source of the statement in Aitzema, Saken van Staet en Oorlogh, ii., p. 381, that Usselinx came to the Netherlands in September, 1636, on this errand; whereas, in fact, he had already been there several months. As to Beyer's phrase, the only explanation I can see is that

The document is more instructive than Usselinx thought. To begin with, the subscription of the crown had not been paid in, and there was little prospect that it would be. The next item is certainly greatly exaggerated. The clerical subscription is not known to have reached above a hundred thousand Swedish dalers, and seems to have been pretty well used up before this, though recommenced this July.[999] The forced contribution of grain had not been levied. The Livonian, Prussian, and Pomeranian subscriptions were from six to nine years old. The same was true of those of the chancellor and other nobles. Moreover, the very figures of this last item lay it open to our suspicion. In the already mentioned list of subscriptions of particular persons, of the year 1627, among the Oxenstjerna papers, the sums foot up to just 110,200 dalers. It seems more than possible that the 110,000 rixdollars (half as much again), in the present list, originate, by error, from that amount.

This was not the sort of bait with which to catch the Lords States General. Nor did it much strengthen the memorialist's cause to urge that as he was "sent by the crown of Sweden to make a combination, it follows that the said crown must be in possession of means wherewith it desires to effect such combination;" nor to allege that, as to the subscriptions of private persons, while he had not the books at hand to give the exact sum, the amplification and his commission were evidence that it must have attained a large amount. The enterprise was great on paper only, and if Usselinx did not or would not see it, the Lords States did.

It seemed to Usselinx that the six lesser provinces favored his plan, that only the Spanish faction opposed him, that he was always on the point of achieving his end, though sometimes he felt a little uneasy as to proper moral (and pecuniary) support from Sweden. But it was in vain that he was urgent for action on his proposals. All the delays of which

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he was not aware of this, though I should think he might have known it from the chancellor. To suppose the date of Beyer's letter to be 1635 is impossible, for Oxenstjerna was not then in Stockholm.

[999] F. Boye, Riksdags Historien, p. 40.

the Dutch governmental system was capable intervened. The matter was referred again and again to committees, to the Nineteen, to the chambers of the West India Company, to the deputies of the States to its meetings. A year was consumed in this way, and though, a little before, they had recommended his zeal, good meaning, and intentions to the West India Company, and had suggested that they give this new company a chance, in the end the opposition of the company prevailed. The proposals were virtually rejected in October, 1637.[300]

This was practically the end of any thoroughly useful activity on the part of Usselinx. From this time on his schemes grow constantly more vague, his expectations from them less vivid, his success in interesting others in them less considerable. He labored still, in truth his labors were kept up until the end of his life, but his efforts seem comparatively aimless, except that the effort to obtain from those he had served something for his support was of necessity maintained. Rejected by the Dutch authorities, and forced to remain in Holland during the winter by lack of any money with which to travel to Sweden or elsewhere, he busied himself as he could. Now he writes to the chancellor that in England they are trying to erect a West India Company under the charge of the Earl of Warwick, and the widowed Queen of Bohemia (Elizabeth, daughter of James I.), then residing at the Hague, has wished them to consult him about it. Now he knows of a Dutchman, the most experienced in East India affairs, who has left in disgust the service of the Dutch East

[300] Letter to Oxenstjerna, Oct. 4, 1636; Bibliog., II., No. 68. Memorial to the States General, Oct. 8, 1636; Bibliog., II., No. 69. Memorial to a committee of the same, March 28, 1637, (Bibl., II., No. 70), printed in Van Rees, Geschiedenis der Staathuishoudkunde, ii., pp. 460, 461. Resolutions of the States General, Sept. 18, Oct. 8, Nov. 8, Dec. 27, 1636, Jan. 14, Feb. 17, March 5, 20, 28, 30, April 28, Aug. 10, 22, Sept. 8, Oct. 29, 1637 (Albany MSS.). Resolution of the States of Holland and W. Fr., Sept. 22, 1637, (Leiden copies); mentioned also by Asher, p. 55. Letter of Samuel Blommaert to Oxenstjerna, Amsterdam, June 6, 1637; copy among the Mickley MSS. in the library of the Historical Society of Pennsylvania at Philadelphia. A copy of the States General's resolution of Oct. 29, 1637, is appended to the letter of Nov. 4th, (Bibl., II., No. 71).

India Company, and whom he hopes to secure for that of Sweden. Now it is that he has applied to the States again, but they declare that they cannot understand his plans; now that a Frenchman is here, treating with the West India Company, but can perhaps be secured for us. He has not told Minister Spiring of this, feeling sure he is against him. He even sends the chancellor news; and of course he asks for money, of which it appears that four hundred rixdollars were sent him. Finally, in the spring of 1638, he brings forward a grand project of a general commercial company, in which all the governments in Europe that are opposed to Spain and the empire, are to engage, or at least permit their subjects to engage,—a wild project, in his exposition of which, however, we see two tendencies which bore fruit with him the next year, a tendency to look to England, and a tendency to expect something of the coming meeting at Hamburg.[301]

It is interesting to note the opinion of another Dutch merchant upon Usselinx, expressed at this time. Samuel Blommaert, a prominent merchant, who had been a director in the Amsterdam chamber of the Dutch West India Company,[302] writing to Oxenstjerna, this January, says: "I also write to His Grace [the vice-admiral of Sweden, Clas Fleming] in regard to the proposition of Willem Ursselincx to their High Mightinesses. If the honorable government desire to have that work seconded, it must be conducted in a different manner, and carried out by Heer Spierinck and other ministers of the crown of Sweden, for the other man has not estimation or credit enough to carry out so great a work. Your Excellency will be able to understand my meaning well enough."[303]

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[301] Letters to Oxenstjerna, of Nov. 4, 1637, Jan. 8 and Apr. 2, 1638; Bibliog., II., Nos. 71, 72, 73. Bedenckingen ouer d'oprechten van een Generale handels Compagnie, and Considerations sur l'Erection, etc., May 1, 1638; Bibl., II., Nos. 74, 75. In No. 81 of Bibl., II., a letter of Dec. 14, 1637, to the States of Holland is mentioned; this does not seem to be extant.

[302] Unnumbered page at the beginning of J. de Laet's Jaerlijck Verhael. See also Pa. Mag. Hist., vi., p. 460.

[303] Letter of Blommaert to Oxenstjerna, Jan. 6, 1638; a copy among the Mickley MSS. in the library of the Historical Society of Pennsylvania.

The judgment was a severe one, but it can hardly be said to be unjust. The obstinate pursuit of one fixed idea had done its work, and Usselinx had lost his grasp upon men of affairs. But the opinion is of additional interest as coming from one who was prominently concerned in those transactions which constituted the chief practical outcome of the work done in establishing the South Company. The designs of its founder became constantly more grandiose and unpractical. But meanwhile something, on a small scale but practical, began to be done with the substantial nucleus from which all these glowing nebulae had been thrown off; and that something constituted, after all, the principal permanent result of the South Company.

In September, 1635, an ordinance of the Swedish government provided that, whereas the resources of the Ship Company had been much crippled by the confiscation of four of their ships by the Spaniards, three years before, they might sell one or two, to fit out the rest. The next July, the clergy were again "permitted to invest in the Sea Company." Usselinx declared that, for revenge on Spain, subscriptions were increasing. A friend wrote him that winter from Stockholm that there was much talk of some combined maritime enterprise of Sweden, the United Provinces, and England.[304]

At any rate all betokened a greater activity in commercial undertakings, for which perhaps Johan Banér's great victory at Wittstock in September, 1636, restoring for a time the tide of Swedish success in Germany, had given them courage. Peter Spiring and Samuel Blommaert, who had in 1636 become respectively Swedish resident at the Hague and Swedish commissary at Amsterdam, engaged the coöperation of Peter Minuit. The enterprise, after all, took the form of a Swedish-Dutch combination, but a very small one, and of a very practical and non-political type. The whole capital was

[304] A. A. von Stiernman, Samling utaf kongl. bref, etc., ii., p. 36. Fredrik Boye, Riksdags Historien, p. 40. Notitie van 't gene, etc., of Sept. 11, 1636, (Bibl., II., No. 67). Extract eens schrijvens van een Minister der Cron Sweden tot Stockholm van den 31 Dec^{r} ouden stijl aen Willem Wsselinx, ontfangen den 9 Febr^{y} 1637, in den Hage; from the Archives at the Hague, where it accompanies the Notitie.

only 24,000 florins. One-half of this was subscribed by Blommaert and Minuit and others in Holland. The other was subscribed in Sweden by the three Oxenstjernas,—Axel the chancellor, his brother Gabriel Gustafsson the steward, and Gabriel Bengtsson the treasurer,—vice-admiral Clas Fleming, and Spiring. Two little ships belonging to the united South and Ship Company, the now celebrated Kalmar Nyckel and Gripen, were chartered, and in the autumn of 1637 set out for the American coast. It was a very small affair, altogether unworthy the approbation of one who was planning vast international commercial organizations; but when the Kalmar Nyckel got back to the Netherlands (without Minuit) in the autumn of 1638, it had laid the germ of one of the United States.[305]

It is interesting to observe the attitude of Usselinx toward this enterprise. Vice-Admiral Fleming,[306] who seems to have had a high opinion of him, wished him to come over to Sweden and give his advice concerning it. But he replies to the queen's secretary, Beyer, that he can be of little use in it, as he never had any thing to do with voyages in that direction, and also has no very good opinion of it. He thinks that individuals may get some profit from it, but that it will be of very little advantage to the kingdom or the crown, for the Dutch West India Company have already tried it, having settled many thousands in those regions. To be sure,

[305] Here I follow Professor C. T. Odhner's article on the Founding of New Sweden, translated by Prof. G. B. Keen for the Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography, iii., first part, pp. 269–284. The fact of Minuit's death on the voyage, the certainty and the details of which Professor Odhner has discovered in the letters of Blommaert, is also pointed to in the letter of Usselinx to Jan Beyer, of March 16, 1639, in the same manner as in Fleming's letter mentioned by Odhner:—"Wat belangt Imant te weten bequaem om de reyse te doen in plaetse van Minuit, kan my niet bedencken dat daer toe Imant wete die soude doruen recommanderen."

[306] Fleming had principal charge of the department of marine. The college or board of admiralty consisted, according to the arrangements adopted in 1634, of the high admiral, two councillors of state, and four vice-admirals or experienced captains. Geijer, History of the Swedes, trans., p. 292. Count Carl Carlsson Gyllenhjelm was nominally high-admiral, but Fleming was really head of the office; Odhner, in Pa. Mag., iii., p. 277.

certain of their directors have taken the opportunity of the company's expenditure of money there to enrich themselves. But, aside from this, he says, "there is, in my opinion, little to be obtained thence but furs, skins, and tobacco, which gave good profit when it was worth as many gulden as it now is of Lubeck shillings, beside that the filthiness of it is, to honorable people, a great detraction, seeing how injurious it is to the health." Moreover, he was detained on the continent by business which seemed to him of far greater consequence than this.[307]

For this letter was written, not from the Hague, but from Hamburg, whither Usselinx seems to have repaired in the preceding autumn.[308] His object was to be in attendance upon a conference of the ambassadors of the allies at Hamburg. Sir Thomas Roe, the famous English diplomatist, went thither on behalf of Charles I., to urge the interests of his nephew, the young Elector Palatine. The Count d' Avaux came as representative of Louis XIII. Dr. Johan Adler Salvius represented Sweden; and the last two had in the spring of 1638 signed a three years' close alliance between France and Sweden.[309]

Such a conference as this seemed to give an especially good opportunity to further in some way his design of a commercial combination of all the allies, and Usselinx ac-

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[307] Letter to Jan Beyer, March 16, 1639; Bibliog., II., No. 76. A previous letter of March 9th is mentioned in this. The "schilling Lûbs" was, I believe, about equivalent to an eightieth of a Dutch gulden.

[308] In the letter of April 9, 1641, he says he has now been in Hamburg two years and a half. There was a large number of Netherlanders in Hamburg, and especially of Protestant refugees from the southern provinces, who seem to have come in largest numbers in 1605. This I learn from a summary of an article by Dr. W. Sillem, in the Zeitschrift des Vereins für Hamburgische Geschichte, Neue Folge, Bd. iv., Heft 4. The article itself I have not seen; but I learn from Dr. Sillem that no trace of Usselinx is to be found in any of the records or papers of the Walloon or Dutch Reformed Church at Hamburg, nor in those of the Niederländische Armen-Casse; nor elsewhere in Hamburg, according to the presiding officer of the Verein, Dr. F. Voigt. With the arrival in Hamburg the dates begin again to be presumably in old style.

[309] Gardiner, The Fall of the Monarchy of Charles I., i., pp. 180, 181, 259. E. Charvériat, Histoire de la Guerre de Trente Ans, ii., pp. 405, 406.

cordingly went thither for that purpose. His friends wished him to desist from all these labors and journeyings, but he feared the anger of God if he gave up this great work. He seems to have received from these kind friends something for his support. Arrived at Hamburg, he obtained some encouragement from Avaux and Roe. For their perusal he made a draft of a charter for the great international organization which he proposed. It was a document of great fulness of detail, extending to 103 articles. But its elaborate provisions are of little consequence, for they were never carried out, and were not likely to be. Except for such features as its international character made necessary, its plan resembles in the main that of the South Company; it is perhaps worth noting that its head-quarters were to be in Emden, as being a city neutral, well fortified, and central to the powers whose coöperation was hoped for.[310]

By the summer of 1639 Usselinx felt less encouraged as to the French and English ambassadors. Each of them suggested his repairing to their respective countries, and starting the company there solely, and the secretary of the king of Denmark, happening to be in Hamburg, made the same suggestion; but none of them seemed much disposed to union in the matter. Joining with a Papistical power seemed, after all, a dubious proceeding, and in the end the projector concluded that the affair must be carried out, if at all, by Sweden and the Netherlands, with no other assistance than that of Emden and some of the Baltic towns. An opportunity soon occurred of renewing his efforts with the Dutch authorities.[311]

Trouble having arisen between the archbishop of Bremen (son of Christian IV.) and the citizens of that town, the States General were requested to mediate. They sent for this purpose, in August, Willem Boreel, pensionary of Amsterdam. The same summer they sent an embassy to remonstrate with the king of Denmark about certain griev-

[310] Octroy et Privileges de la Compagnie du Sud, March 21, 1639; Bibliography, II., No. 77.

[311] Letter to Oxenstjerna, Hamburg, Aug. 24, 1639; Bibliog., II., No. 78.

ances. After long delays at Copenhagen, these at length had audience of Christian at Glückstadt.[212] The opportunity to see Boreel was especially welcome to Usselinx, because the former's city of Amsterdam had been foremost in opposition, in the States of Holland, to his grand design. Accordingly he went down the Elbe to Stade in August to see him; and again in October he went down to see the other ambassadors at Glückstadt, whither, indeed, Sir Thomas Roe had invited him to go with him, in order to see the king of Denmark.[213]

From Boreel he obtained some assurances of future assistance to his plans. But he could not discover that a letter which he had written to the States General in April had ever been read before them. He feared that some of his enemies had suppressed it; more likely it was thought too long and too unpractical. The other envoys seem to have given similar vague promises of furtherance. One of them explained to him that the unfavorable vote of the States had been largely due to their not knowing where he proposed to begin the operations of his new company. The old man explained that it was inexpedient to divulge this, but that the West India Company would not be in any way injured. Being asked what his conditions were, he answered that he wanted nothing for himself, but wanted to see certain things fixed in the charter. They were in the main those provisions for which he had contended, nearly twenty years before, in the matter of the West India Company. Still, he says, they are not articles of faith, and can be modified. And so he hoped to have favorably influenced the envoys.[214]

The most striking and glorious event in Dutch history in these years was the great victory which Maarten Harperts-

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[212] Arend, Algemeene Geschiedenis des Vaderlands, iii: 5, pp. 165–167, 213–219. A. J. van der Aa, Biographisch Woordenboek, s. v. Boreel.

[213] Sir Thomas Roe, in 1639, negotiated at Glückstadt a treaty between England and Denmark. Macpherson, Annals of Commerce, ii., p. 405.

[214] Letter to Oxenstjerna, Aug. 24, 1639. Letter to the States General (Hague MSS.), Oct. 25, 1639. Bibliog. II., Nos. 78 and 79.

zoon Tromp won over the Spanish fleet off the Dunes in October, 1639. As at the news of the capture of the silver-fleet in 1628, so now again Usselinx hastened to congratulate the States upon this great success, and urged anew his project of a united South Company. His letter is, as often, a little prolix, but its arguments are well made and interestingly expressed, with a frankness which he declares to be suited to one who is now too old to fear any thing but God and himself. They seem to have produced an impression upon the States General. For, the provinces requesting copies of it, copies were given to them and to the deputies of the States with the Nineteen, with the suggestion that they consider whether by this plan the great expenses of the war and the West India Company may not be lightened and injury done to Spain. But the States of Holland, as usual, slighted the matter. Their records say that "a prolix letter by Willem Uselinghs in Hamburg" was read; and forthwith, as usual, with the regularity of clock-work, it was referred to the West India Company, that is, to the body least likely to be favorable to it.[818]

More than this, he seems even to have been taken to task for one passage of his letter. He had spoken of having two books ready to print, the one relating his labors and troubles in establishing the West India Company, the other those for the united South Company, but of withholding them lest they should give offence, and seriously damage certain persons in the eyes of the people. Complaint seems to have been made of this, as sounding like a threat. So Usselinx wrote again, to exculpate himself from any such charge. Apparently he was now in great straits for money. For in his last letter to the chancellor of Sweden he had begged to be given some portion of what the king had promised in order to pay the debt of four hundred rixdollars incurred

[818] Arend, Algemeene Geschiedenis, iii: 5, pp. 200, 201. Letter to the States General, Hamburg, Oct. 25, 1639. The fight was on the 21st, but this was in new style, the date of the letter in old. Resolutions of the States General, Nov. 16, 1639 (Albany MSS.). Resolutions of the States of Holland and W. Fr., Dec. 3, 1639. Asher, p. 56, has both this date and that of the letter slightly wrong, as is somewhat often the case with him.

during these last four years and provide somewhat for the future. And now, mixed with his explanations about the two books and his apologies for any uncourtliness of phrase on the part of one who had studied uprightness more than fine language or flourishes of the pen, he gives strong hints of the justice of rewarding him for his many services, and of the ingratitude of republics. But no attention was given to him. He learned that his letter had been read, and hoped the failure to reply was due to the absence of certain members. In the summer of 1640 the States General sent Boreel and two other ambassadors to Stockholm, where they negotiated a new treaty of alliance between Sweden and the Netherlands. On their way out in July and on their return in October they passed through Hamburg, and Usselinx seized both opportunities to confer with them.[316]

Gabriel de Roy, now the Spanish resident at Hamburg, seems to have taken more interest in the plans of Usselinx than the States did. At any rate, his secretary made various attempts to ingratiate himself with Usselinx, commiserated him upon the ingratitude of the States, and told him that he had often heard De Roy wish he could be attracted into the Spanish service, where he would be well rewarded. But Usselinx of course refused, and further intimated that the experiences he had had, incognito, at Wismar with Gabriel de Roy, gave him some doubts of his benevolence towards him. He told the story to Salvius, who urged him to draw the man on, and to Count d'Avaux. Not long after, a converted Portuguese Jew, also in the interest of De Roy, tried in vain to discover what his designs were.[317]

[316] Letters to the States General, Hamburg, Apr. 7, Oct. 23, 1640; Bibliog., II., Nos. 80 and 81. Resolutions of the States General, Apr. 2, 1640 (referring to a letter of his dated March 24), Apr. 26, 1640. Arend, Algemeene Geschiedenis, iii : 5, pp. 287–293. Arckenholtz, Mémoires de Christine, iii., p. 197. The two books were never printed, so far as is known. Gustavus had promised him 1,000 Swedish dalers a year. This would now make 13,000, or say 9,000 rixdollars. It appears that he had, so far, received only 4,000 of this.

[317] Memorial to Oxenstjerna, undated; Bibliog., II., No. 83. Memorie aenwysende, in Van Rees, II., p. 471. Avaux was at Hamburg through the autumn of 1640 and most of the year 1641; Arckenholtz, iv., pp. 305–318, 348–351; Charvériat, Guerre de Trente Ans, ii., pp. 444, 445.

When spring came, Usselinx gave up hope of getting any thing from the States General. A friend coming from Amsterdam had assured him that they did not mean to do any thing for him or his plan. He resolved to go back to Sweden after Easter, but sent one more memorial to the States General, reminding them how little it was to their credit that his services to his country should go unrewarded, and going curiously out of his way to give them the not very sound advice, to render no assistance to the revolts against Spain which had just broken out in Catalonia and Portugal. This advice he supported by somewhat remote arguments drawn from the ill-success of the Catalonian revolt against Pedro III. of Aragon in 1283, and the difficulty with which the Grand Master of Avis had won the throne of Portugal from the king of Castile by the battle of Albujarota in 1385. This looks as though the old man had spent some of his abundant leisure during the long winter at Hamburg in the reading of history. As argument, it did not have much effect on the Lords States; but some of the provinces raised the question, whether some money ought not to be given him in his present unfortunate condition. The question was decided affirmatively; but this seems to have remained a purely academic expression of opinion, and Usselinx, hearing nothing, went back to Sweden.[318]

It was more than twelve years since he had left the country. In that time he had seen the failure of every plan which he had formed. Even the South Company itself was virtually extinct, and was absorbed, the next summer, in a newly formed West India Company. Of the millions which Usselinx had hoped, by various grand combinations, to secure for it, it seems to have actually possessed not much more than thirty thousand rixdollars of capital.[319]

[318] Letter to the States General, Hamburg, Apr. 9, 1641; Bibliog., II., No. 82. Resolutions of the States General, Apr. 27, 29, 1641. In Holland Easter had already occurred, on March 31, this year; but, in places still using the old style, it came on April 25th.

[319] C. T. Odhner, The Founding of New Sweden, translated by Professor G. B. Keen, in the Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography, iii., pp. 407, 408. Carl K. S. Sprinchorn, History of the Colony of New Sweden, translated by Professor Keen, Pa. Mag., vii., pp. 406, 407.

IX.—LAST YEARS.

Should I present it to the Biskayners, French or Hollanders, they have made me large offers. But nature doth binde me thus to begg at home, whome strangers have pleased to make a Comander abroad.—Capt. JOHN SMITH, Letter to Bacon, 1618.

The stay of Usselinx in Sweden was not long, less than two years, in fact. Exhausted as the country was by its efforts in the prolonged and destructive war in Germany, he could expect little of the government. There was also very little that he could do. All his schemes had failed, and at seventy-four it was not easy to find new tasks. But it was impossible for him to be idle. First he suggests to the chancellor a plan by which, through correspondence with the Portuguese Jew at Hamburg, he may discover something of the views and intentions of the Spanish government concerning the trade of Sweden. Then he presents to him a statement of the receipts of the Dutch West India Company for the last year or two, and shows how this may encourage to such navigation from Sweden.[320] But already he had turned his attention to quite another sphere of activity.

It gives a high notion of his tireless energy, elasticity, and exhaustless fertility of resource, and is at the same time a somewhat pathetic thing, to see this old man, when the great task that had absorbed all his energies for fifty long years finally failed him, taking up, at once and unfalteringly, a minor task of public improvement like that with which a few years of his prime had been occupied at the Beemster and the Soetermeer. Sweden, then as now, abounded in inland lakes. To an old Netherlander the idea might naturally occur of draining some of these and reclaiming large areas of rich meadow-land, as had been done in Holland. One such opportunity in particular had attracted his attention. At the western extremity of Lake Mälar, at the mouth of which Stockholm is situated, stood the important trading town of Köping. A few miles south of it lay the mouth of

[320] Brief memorial to the Chancellor, undated, but apparently of the winter of 1641; Bibl., II., No. 83. Staet ende Inkommen vande West Indische Compagnie, Dec. 24, 1641; Bibl., II., No. 84.

the Arboga river, a link in the chain of water communication across or into the interior of Sweden. For, several miles from its mouth, there opened into it a recently constructed canal from Lake Hjelmar.

Along this river there seemed to Usselinx to be a chance to call into existence fruitful meadows; and there was a similar opportunity through the draining of a lake, or arm of Lake Mälar, lying between the mouth of the river and Köping. On the same day on which he handed in his statement about the Dutch West India Company, he made a request for permission to undertake these operations. At the same time he desired to have a patent, securing to him a monopoly of such enterprises in Sweden for a term of years, and a tenth part of all lands so reclaimed or of the profits of them. Then he proceeded, in the depth of winter, to visit the locality for the purpose of surveying it. The government seems to have been inclined to encourage and have confidence in him, for its local officials were instructed to give him due assistance.[221]

Ulfvesund (now Kungsör), at the mouth of the river Arboga, was a royal residence, at which was kept a portion of the royal stud.[222] Hither he was attended from Strömsholm by the queen's equerry, Måns Nilsson. Summoning the bailiff of the village, he began work at once. As the expected surveyor did not appear, he began making the survey himself, although it was in the depth of winter (the end of January), and he was not experienced in such work. He took the length, and breadth, and depth of the lake in various parts, and investigated the opportunities for water-mills and wind-mills. Then he made his way up the river, measuring the extent of meadows that might be reclaimed; these, with the lake, seem to have made some ten square miles. Next he went up to the canal to interview the engineer of

[221] These and the subsequent details are derived from his Relatie van myn verrichtinge op de reyse van Vlfersundt ende Vpsala, Stockholm, Feb. 22, 1642; Bibliog., II., No. 85. It gives the particulars of each day's doings; Sundays, the account shows, he did not work.

[222] Svenska Riksrådets Protokoll, ed. Kullberg, iii., pp. 91, 95, 226.

the sluices; then returned, and renewed his measurements. Altogether he was well pleased with the situation, and thought none in Sweden better suited to his purpose. In this he seems to have been right. A dozen years later Whitelocke (the "learned Bulstrode" of Carlyle) going through here to Köping on his famous embassy to Christina on behalf of the Parliament, found the country "fuller of corn than formerly [*i. e.* in former places], with some small meadows in the bottoms."[323]

Next, the untiring old man journeyed, along some of those roads which Whitelocke's men found so bad that they nearly mutinied at having to traverse them in midwinter, to the old cathedral and university town of Upsala, near which there was a similar piece of work needing to be done. Thence he returned to Stockholm after something like a month's absence. He seems to have found greater difficulties than he had expected in the execution of his design. In the first place the valuation of land of any sort was very small. In the second place, it was hard to find enough men competent to carry out the necessary works and then cultivate the reclaimed lands as they should be cultivated; this, however, would be better when the war stopped. The report which he presented is interesting as showing another side of Usselinx; he had, it is evident, much knowledge and excellent views of agriculture, as well as of commerce. He gives the government many excellent suggestions, and urges the execution of this particular work on the terms that he has proposed.

[323] Whitelocke's Journal of his Embassy, ed. S. Laing, 1844, i., p. 202. In 1778 a traveller writes, "From Kungsör stretches, about nine miles, almost as far as Arboga, a long narrow plain of rich pasture, which belongs to the king: it is watered by the Ulvison, and skirted with gently rising hills tufted with wood; produces great quantities of fine hay; and feeds a large number of cattle." W. Coxe, Travels into Russia, Poland, Sweden, and Denmark, ii., p. 482. This looks as if the project of Usselinx had been subsequently carried out. Usselinx's letters during this expedition were to be sent to Köping, very likely to the care of that "praetor" whom Whitelocke made to apologize so profusely for having given ill language of the Parliament, saying that they were a company of tailors and cobblers; or of that "consul" who assured him "that he had read Milton's book [the Defensio pro Populo Anglicano], and liked it, and had it at home." Journal, i., pp. 202, 203.

The council had at first resolved to give him his patent, and provide him with some sort of annual salary for his long and faithful services to the crown. But in the end nothing was done, and Chancellor Oxenstjerna told him it was hardly possible to do any thing of advantage in the way of draining until the war was over. This Usselinx declared that he did not expect to occur during his lifetime. He therefore besought the government to give him a little money and an honorable dismissal, that he might go back to his fatherland before the winter (for it was now August, 1642), and end his days quietly among his friends. At the same time he offered to be of any further service possible.[324] It seems likely, however, that his departure was delayed over another winter; at least on April 11, 1643, we find a commission issued to him in the quality of Swedish agent of commerce in the Netherlands.[325]

In his own country, what we first hear of him is that at the end of July he has made to the States General some request which they would not grant.[326] Then we hear no more of him until the next spring, when the affairs of the East India and West India Companies became a matter of general public discussion, in which he could not help taking part. In June, 1645, the charter of the West India Company would expire. The second charter of the East India Company expired at the beginning of 1644, but was temporarily continued from time to time, pending the discussions as to its renewal. The history of the two had been very different. The East India Company had devoted itself to trade exclusively, had been independent of state subsidies, virtually exempt from state control, and highly prosperous. With the West India Company, on the other hand, the foremost object had been warlike measures against Spain, especially in Brazil. Partly because they had declared excessive dividends in times of prosperity, partly because they had

[324] Memorial to Oxenstjerna, Aug. 22, 1642; Bibliog., II., No. 86.

[325] C. T. Odhner, Founding of New Sweden, tr. Keen, in Pa. Mag., iii., p. 399, note 3.

[326] Resolutions of the States General, July 31, 1643 (Hague MSS.).

relied too much on governmental subsidies and these had not been duly paid, partly because the Portuguese had now become independent and desired to have Brazil back again, the fortunes of the company had fallen very low.

Yet so great was its utility to the state that its preservation was felt to be an object of great importance, and the proposition was made that, instead of renewing the charters of the two companies, they should be combined. The East India Company protested loudly against such a union, which would bring upon them the burden of great military undertakings, while it weakened them by association with a concern which was practically bankrupt. The West India Company, on the contrary, pleaded their public services, and urged that either such a combination be made, or they be in some way extricated from their present embarrassments.[327]

At this juncture, Usselinx came forward with an offer to show means by which the West India Company might be relieved, and with a request for a hearing and eventual recompense. He was referred to the committee on the union of the two companies, who heard him, but reported that he confined himself to generalities, offering, however, to disclose more if they would give him more time, a smaller committee, and a reward for his former services. As might have been predicted, he was referred to the directors of the West India Company.[328]

Not much more was accomplished at once by a similar application to the States General. They appointed a committee. In the autumn he presented to them two very long memorials. In the first he gave a detailed account of all that he had done for the founding of the West India Company, of all his services to the state since then, especially at the time of the invasion of the Veluwe, and of all the losses and perils he had incurred in the course of his efforts. He left it to them whether he ought not to receive some com-

[327] Van Rees, Geschiedenis der Staathuishoudkunde, ii., pp. 180, 189–198. Arend, Algemeene Geschiedenis, iii: 5, pp. 446–451.

[328] Resolutions of the States of Holland and W. Fr., Apr. 28, May 3, 1644. (in both Leiden and Hague transcripts).

pensation, instancing the rewards received by Columbus, the two per cent. of subscriptions and one per cent. on sales which Gustavus Adolphus had promised, and a recent offer of two per cent. on all sales, which "an ambassador of a great king" had made, if he would help to establish a company. He reminds them how disinterested his labors had been; and suggests that, at the least, they can recompense him for the loss sustained by selling his lands at so low a price. For it was his services to the state which made necessary the sale; he might therefore as properly be indemnified as those whose lands the state takes, by right of eminent domain, for its own purposes.[339]

The other memorial was devoted to public ends, to showing what ought to be done for the relief of the West India Company. Those ends of injury to Spain, increase of public revenue, lightening of taxes, and general benefit, which he had proposed in founding the company, could still be attained, if proper measures were taken. It had attempted to do too much, and, relying on state aid, had been a source of expense, rather than income, to the land. Its imports ought to be taxed. To unite the companies would be of no advantage to the West India Company or the land; it would make all foreign trade hereditary in the hands of a few men. If the charters were renewed, it should be with many modifications. A better and more Christian treatment of the natives, and the abandonment of the inhumane trade in slaves, should be secured. The east coast of Africa should be included. The company, if it was to maintain itself and do what it ought for its colonists in Brazil and elsewhere, must have exclusive possession of trade within its limits. Government should, in the interest of the colonists, erect additional safeguards against oppression and fraud, and, in the interest of the nation at home, against excessive prices. Of the two

[339] Request of July 1, 1644; Bibliog., II., No. 87. Resolutions of the States General, July 1, 1644, (Hague MSS.). Memorie aenwysende, Oct. 3, 1644, in Van Rees, ii., pp. 461–475; this memorial is of great importance as a biographical source. The Albany copy (A. 6) has a brief preface, which Van Rees does not print.

companies, that of the West Indies should be favored the more, as more needing help, and as being of great public utility; the selfish merchants of the other company should be compelled to do something for it.[330]

In this programme of Usselinx there is much to remind one of the views expressed by him in the discussions, in 1619 and 1620, over the first chartering of the West India Company. There is much also to admire, not only in respect to insight and criticism, but in respect to the preference of public above private aims and the advocacy of justice and liberality toward colonists and humanity toward natives. Neither of the two memorials did much for their author. At first there seems to have been some hope. The three committee-men were favorably impressed, and on their report the Lords States charged them to get the written opinion of two or three jurisconsults as to whether the *main levée* desired by him can be granted, see how justice toward him can be expedited, and get more advice from him. But soon one of the committee died, one went away, one became very busy, and again his hopes were disappointed. Nor was any thing accomplished for him by three memorials which he presented in the earlier part of the next year, in which, with excellent care for the colonial populations and great and detailed knowledge of East Indian trade, he argued against prolonging the East India Company's charter, and in favor of throwing the trade to those regions open to all Netherlanders.[331]

Writing to Oxenstjerna in the spring of 1645 for the first

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[330] Memorie van t' gene, etc., Oct. 15, 1644 (Bibliog., II., No. 89); printed in Van Rees, ii., pp. 476–489. P. M. Netscher, Les Hollandais au Brésil, pp. 148, 149.

[331] Resolutions of the States General (at Albany), Oct. 18, 1644, Jan. 23, Feb. 17, March 29, April 22, 1645; also Jan. 3, 1646 (Hague). Memorials to them, dated Jan. 16, March 27, April 13, 1645, the first from the archives at the Hague, the last two from those at Stockholm, being copies which Usselinx sent to Oxenstjerna; Bibliog., II., Nos. 90, 91, 92. The statements of the letter to Oxenstjerna next mentioned show that in these five, Nos. 88–92, we have all the memorials on this subject that had been written up to April 25th.

time since his departure from Sweden, Usselinx expressed little hope of suitable reward from their High Mightinesses. Perhaps, indeed, it was on this very account that he turns again to the Swedish government. It appears that he had received nothing from the latter for two years. The minister, Silfvercron (*i. e.*, Peter Spiring, now ennobled), told him his pay must come out of the States' subsidies to Sweden, but they seemed unlikely to pay any more. So he writes to the chancellor of the matter, at the same time congratulating him on the victories recently won in the brief war with Denmark, and telling him what he had done in regard to various commissions of his. He had found the Netherlanders little inclined by recent experience in England and France to engage in draining operations in Sweden. And at the close he professes himself still ready, if need were, to make a little journey to Sweden once more, even by land.[332]

When in June he writes to Secretary and Postmaster-General Beyer, he is still hoping that, as soon as the war between Denmark and Sweden is over, and the question of chartering the two Dutch companies is decided, something may be done either for the project of draining lakes or for the great commercial scheme. Meanwhile he writes of news, and asks for repayment, from sums due her from the government, for money which he had lent to Cattarina Monier, the widowed and orphan daughter of his old friend, Antony Monier. It had been lent, he says, through his niece, Elisabet ter Nelbeurch, at Amsterdam. This is the only case in which he anywhere mentions any relative by name. It is pleasant to see that there were those who could care for him in his old age. His friends, he tells Beyer, offer him all possible help, and wish him to stay quietly with them; "but so long as God keeps me in the disposition I now am in, I would not gladly be a burden to any one, for I think

[332] Letter to Oxenstjerna, April 25, 1645; Bibliog., II., No. 93. The mention of England is doubtless an allusion to the experiences of Cornelius Vermuyden, the Dutch engineer who superintended the draining of Hatfield Chase and the Bedford Level. Gardiner, Fall of the Monarchy of Charles I., i., pp. 83–91.

that I, as well here as elsewhere, have deserved better than this, and would rather go on an East India or West India voyage than burden any one while able to do any thing better. I have still too much courage for that, though if sick I would make a virtue of necessity; and my age has become so great that in any case it cannot last much longer with me."[333]

This letter of June 13, 1645, is the last of the brave and resolute old man's letters that we possess. But his activity was not quite ended. The next year we hear of three memorials from and about him, of two further statements, and an exposition. The States General incline to recompense him for his services, and promise to try to find some way. The direct payment of a small sum of money does not seem to have occurred to the representatives of the richest country in Europe. On January 10, 1647, the States of Holland refer him to a committee; on February 28th the States General appoint a committee in regard to him; on August 8th, the pensionary informing the States of Holland that Sieur Willem Uselincx had that morning given him some papers, in which he said he had written some considerations of his for the good of the West India Company and concerning the present constitution of the state, the papers are referred to the committee on the West India Company.[334] This is the last notice we have of the unwearied projector.

Usselinx must have died not long after this, though no record of his death or burial has yet been found.[335] Had he lived until the conclusion of peace with Spain in the next January, we should be likely to find, in the proceeding of the States General, the evidence of some remonstrance or memorial from him. Probably, then, he died in the year 1647, at

[333] Letter to Jan Beyer, June 13, 1645. Bibliog., II., No. 94.

[334] Resolutions of the States General, April 13, May 3, July 11, 1646, Feb. 28, 1647. Resolutions of the States of Holland and W. Fr., Jan. 10, Aug. 8, 1647.

[335] Professor van Rees, ii. p. 143, note 2, says that he caused the registers of burials at the Hague to be searched from their beginning in 1651 down to 1660, without finding any trace of his burial; I have not succeeded in finding any information of the time of his death.

the age of eighty years; and we may feel sure that he died with unabated courage and confidence in all his great plans. His life was exactly conterminous with the eighty years' struggle of the Netherlands for independence; for he was born in the year of the arrival of Alva, and the last hostilities occurred in December of this year 1647. In this same year, too, the States renewed for twenty-five years the charters of both the two companies, making, however, some of those very amendments which Usselinx had recommended.[336]

The character of Usselinx, the lesson of his laborious and checkered career, will have been revealed in the process of narrating his life. Or, if they have not, it is vain to expect to accomplish that result by the few words of a closing paragraph. Yet because he achieved in the end little personal success, and because the last years of his life were less and less prosperous, it is well at the close to revert for a moment to his earlier years, and to fix a juster impression by recalling to mind not only the excellent service he had rendered to his own time and to ours, but also the unselfish and public aims by which he had made it impossible, despite all personal disappointments, for his life to be a failure.

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[336] Arend, iii: 5, pp. 773, 774. Van Rees, ii., pp. 209, 210.—It does not appear from any of the writings of Usselinx that he was married or had any children. G. Brandt, Hist. der Reformatie en andere Kerkelyke Geschiedenissen in en ontrent de Nederlanden, iv., pp. 168, 176, mentions one Jan Willemszoon Usseling, a zealous Remonstrant of Amsterdam, who in 1619 was compelled to flee thence. Mr. Berg van Dussen Muilkerk, in De Gids, 1849, i., p. 709, followed by Mr. J. Bouman, in the Navorscher, ix., p. 165, has raised the query whether this may not be a son of the projector. One would wish, if possible, to spare him the pain of having, with all his other calamities, a Remonstrant for a son, In the list, drawn up in 1657, of the farmers and others sent out to Staten Island since 1650 by the Jonkheer Henrick van der Capellen tot Ryssel, it is mentioned that the widow of one of them, named Jan Wesselinck, has since married an Englishman who is a carter, and lives with her three children at the Manhattans. N. Y. Col. Docs., xiii., p. 75. It is barely possible, therefore, that some of the blood of Usselinx may not be in America. But the only kin that we really know of are the clerkly sister's-son and the niece Elisabet ter Nelbeurch.

BIBLIOGRAPHY.

I.—PRINTED WORKS.

In the following bibliography titles have been taken, in all cases where practicable, from the books themselves. The bibliographies briefly referred to in parenthesis are: G. M. Asher's Bibliographical Essay on the Dutch Books and Pamphlets relating to New Netherland, Amsterdam, 1854–1867; the bibliography at the end of É. Laspeyres' Geschichte der volkswirthschaftlichen Anschauungen der Niederländer, Leipzig, 1863; F. Muller's Catalogue of Books on America, Amsterdam, 1872; J. Sabin's Dictionary of Books relating to America, New York, 1867–1886; P. A. Tiele's Bibliotheek van Nederlandsche Pamfletten, Amsterdam, 1858–1861; J. K. van der Wulp's Catalogus van de Tractaten, etc., van Isaac Meulman, Amsterdam, 1866–1868; C. G. Warmholtz's Bibliotheca Historica Suiogothica, Stockholm, 1782–1817.

Of the capital initials following the parenthesis B indicates the presence of a copy in the John Carter Brown Library at Providence; H, in the library of Harvard University; L, in the Lenox Library at New York; N, in the library of the State of New York at Albany; P, in that of the Historical Society of Pennsylvania at Philadelphia; S, in that of the Department of State, and W, in the Library of Congress, at Washington.

NYPL
JCB

1. Bedenckinghen/Ober den staet bande heere-/nichde Nederlanden: Rogende de Zee-/vaert, Coop-handel, ende de gemeyne Neeringe inde sel-/be. Ingeballe den Peys met de Aerts-hertogen inde aen-/staende Vrede-handelinge getroffen wert. / Door een lief-hebber eenes oprechten ende bestandighen / Vredes voorghestelt. / Gedruckt int Jaer ons Heeren. 1608.

Title + 14 printed pp. (Asher 29, Laspeyres 13, Tiele 646). B. L. S. W.

NYPL 2 copies JCB 2. Grondich Discours ober desen/aen-staenden Vrede-handel.
Half-title. 15 printed pp. (Asher 30, Muller 1542, Tiele 647). W.

This pamphlet is identical with the preceding, excepting the title. The two editions of the Grondich Discours, not distinguished by Asher, differ only in spelling. This one begins "Alzo ic dagelijcx," etc. Tiele first discriminated between them.

3. Grondich Discours ober desen/aen-staenden Vrede-handel.
Half-title. 15 printed pp. (Asher 30, Tiele 648). S.

This edition differs from the preceding in spelling only. It begins "Alzoo ick daghelijcks," etc.

NYPL 2 copies JCB 4. Naerder Bedenckingen, / Ober de zee-baerdt, Coop-/handel ende Veeringhe, als mede de berse-/keringhe banden Staet deser bereenichde Landen, in-/ de teghenwoordighe Vrede-handelinghe met den/Coninck ban Spangnien ende de Aerts-her-/toghen. / Door een lies-hebber eenes oprechten, ende bestandighen/vredes voorghestelt. / Ghedruckt in het Jaer ons Heeren 1608.
Title + 34 printed pp. (Asher 32, Laspeyres 14, Tiele 649). B. S. W.

5. Naerder Bedenckingen, / Ober de Zee-baerdt, Coop-/handel ende Veeringhe; alsmede de berse-/keringhe ban den Staet deser bereenichde Landen, in-/ de teghen-woordighe Vrede-handelinghe met den/Coninck ban Spangnien ende de Aerts-her-/toghen. / Door een lief-hebber eenes oprechten, ende bestandighen / vredes voorghestelt. / Ghedruckt in het Jaer ons Heeren 1608.
44 pp. (Asher 31, Muller 1543).

This edition I have never seen; I take the title from Asher.

NYPL 2 copies JCB 6. Vertoogh, hoe nootwendich, nut ende pro-/fytelick het sy voor de vereenighde Nederlanden/te behouden de Vryheyt van te handelen op *West-/Indien*, Inden vrede metten Coninck/van Spaignen. [1608.]
Half-title, 20 printed pp., n. p. n. d. (Asher 33, Laspeyres 15, Muller 1544, Tiele 650). B. L. W.

NYPL 7. VERTOOGH, HOE NOOTWENDICH, NVT EN-/de profytelyck het zy voor de vereenichde Nederlanden te behouden /de Vryheyt van te handelen op *West Indien*, Inden vrede met/ den Coninck van Spangien. [1608.]
Half-title, 20 printed pp. (Asher 34, Tiele 651). L. S.

Of this, Asher knew only the copy in the "Witte Collectie" in the Royal Library at the Hague.

JCB 8. KORTE / Onderrichtinghe ende ver-/maeninge aen alle liefhebbers des Vader-/landts, om liberalycken te teeckenen/inde West-Indische Compagnie: / In de welcke / Kortelyck wort aenghewesen, de nootsaeckelyckheyt, / doenlyckheyt ende nuttigheyt van de selve. / Door een liefhebber des Vaderlandts inghestelt, ende / tot ghemeyne onderrichtinghe in druck / vervoordert. / TOT LEYDEN: / Inde Druckerye van Isaack Elzevier, Boeck-drucker / vande Universiteyt, Anno 1622.

Title + 18 printed pp. (Asher 98, Laspeyres 39, Tiele 1934). B.

9. Korte/Onderrichtinghe ende ver-/maeninghe aen alle liefhebbers des Vader-/landts, om liberalycken te teeckenen / in de West-Indische Compagnie. / In de welcke / Kortelyck wort aenghewesen, de nootsaeckelykheyt, doenlyckheyt ende nutticheyt van de selve. / Door een liefhebber des Vaderlants inghestelt, ende / tot ghemeyne onderrichtinghe in druck/vervoordert. / Tot Leyden / In de Druckerye van Isaak Elzevier, Boeck-drucker / vande Universiteyt, Anno 1622. / Men vintse te Koop tot Rotterdam, by Jan van Waes-/berghe op 't Marct velt.

Title + 18 printed pp. (Tiele 1935, Sabin 38260).

The copy in the Muller collection catalogued by Tiele did not come to the library of the University of Ghent. I have therefore had to take this title from Tiele and Sabin, and cannot give the typography of the original.

JCB 10. POLITIICQ DISCOVRS, / Over den wel-standt van dese / vereenichde Provincien, nu wederomme/met haren Vyandt ghetreden zynde/ in openbare Oorloghe; / Ende of voor de selve de Vrede of de Oorloghe / dienstigher is. / Waer inne kortelyck werden beantwoordt verscheyden / vraegh-poincten, die de selve Landen schynen te raden tot / Vrede ofte Bestandt: midtsgaders waerachtich verhael / van de vruchten, welcke den voorgaenden Trebes heeft/voort-gebracht: Ende met eenen aenghewesen de mid-/delen waer door wy onse waerde vryheyt teghen den / Spangjaert sullen beschermen; bestaende insonderheyt / in het vorderen van de West-Indische Compangje, by / de Hooch-Moghende Heeren Staten Generael ghevoc-/troyeert. / Ghetrouwelijck in-ghestelt by een Lief-/hebber van het Vaderlandt. / T.L.B.I.E.D.V.V. / In 't Jaer ons Heeren 1622.

Title + 26 printed pp. (Tiele 1929).

I know of no copy of this in this country; for the above, taken from the copy in the library of the University of Ghent, I am indebted to the unfailing kindness of Professor Paul Fredericq, of that university.

NYPL 11. POLITIICQ DISCOVRS, / Ober den welstandt van dese / Vereenichde Provintien, nu weder-/omme met haren vyandt ghetreden tzynde/ in openbare Oorloghe. / Ende of voor de selve de Vrede of de Oorloghe / dienstigher is. / Waer inne cortelyck werden beantwoordt / verscheyden vraegh-poincten; die de selve Landen schyn-/nen te raden tot vrede ofte Bestandt: mitsgaders waer-/achtich verhael van de vruchten, welcke den voorgaen-/den Trebes heeft voort-gebracht: Ende met eenen / aenghewesen de middelen waer door wy onse waerde/vryheydt teghen den Spangiaert sullen beschermen; be-/staende insonderheyt in het voorderen van de West-In-/dische Compangie, by de Hooch-Moghende Heeren/Staten Generael ghevoctroyeert. / Ghetrouwelyck in-ghestelt by een Lief-hebber/van het Vaderlandt. / T.L.B.I.E.D.V.V. / In 't Jaer ons Heeren, 1622.

Title + 18 printed pp. (Asher 91, Laspeyres 46, Sabin 63830, Tiele 1930).

I know of no copy of this in this country; through the kindness of Dr. W. N. du Rieu, librarian of the University of Leiden, I have had a transcript of it. The above title-page is taken from Asher and this transcript.

In a passage which I had overlooked, and now find too late to make any use of it, Professor Van Rees, ii., pp. 157–9, conjectures that Usselinx may possibly be the author of Nootwendich Discours, 1622, also printed with the titles Ootmoedige Beklagh-redenen, etc., and Den vervaerlycken Oost-Indischen Eclipsis; likewise of Tweede Noot-wendiger Discours, also printed with the title Den Langh-verwachten Donder-slach, etc.

12. MANIFEST/vnd Vertragbrieff, der/Australischen Companey/ im Königreich Schweden auff-/gerichtet. / Im Jahr/M.DC.XXIV.

Title + 11 printed pp. (Warmholtz 7627). P.

A facsimile of the title-page is given in Winsor's Narrative and Critical History of America, IV., p. 489. The contents differ but slightly from those of Der Reiche Schweden General Compagnies Handlungs Contract, No. 13, from the last division of Auszführlicher Bericht, No. 16, and from the Formular dess Manifest und Vergleich oder Contract-Brieffs der Compagnie, in the Argonautica, No. 26.—This piece is very rare; see note 166.

It is possible that I ought to include in this part of the bibliography the printed copy, mentioned in note 167, of the king's commission of Dec. 21, 1624. No doubt the commission, at least the original Dutch draft, was written by Usselinx; but the printed copy has no title, and seems to be merely a broadside of 44 lines.

NYPL JCB 13. Der Reiche Schweden / GENERAL COMPAGNIES Handlungs/CONTRACT,/Dirigeret naher Asiam, Africam, Americam/ und Magellanicam., / Sampt dessen / Conditionen vnnd Willkühren./ Mit Kön. May. / zu Schweden / unsers Aller- / gnedigsten Königs vnd

Herrn gnediger Bewilligung, / auch hierauff ertheilten Privilegien, in of=/fentlichen Druck publiciret./Stockholm/1625.

Title + 14 printed pp. (Muller 2847, Sabin 68983). B. W.

The contents differ but slightly from those of Manifest und Vertragbrieff, No. 12, and are nearly identical with those of the last division of Auszführlicher Bericht, No. 16, and of the Formular dess Manifest und Vergleich oder Contract-Brieffs der Compagnie, in the Argonautica, No. 26.—Rare.

NYPL JCB

14. Sweriges Rykes / General Handels Com- / pagnies / CONTRACT,/Dirigerat til Asiam, Africam, Americam/och Magellanicam,/Sampt theß/Conditioner och/Wilkåhr. / Vppå H. K. M. wår Allergnädigste Konungs/och Herres nådigha behagh, och vthgiffne Privilegiers / Innehåld, aff Trycket vthgången och / publiceret. / Stockholm, åhr 1625.

Title + 14 printed pages. W.

This differs but little from the preceding German tract, except that there is prefaced to it, p. ii., a notice as to subscriptions. The title is taken from two transcripts, the one kindly furnished me by Dr. Klemming, the Royal Librarian, and Mme. K. Sjöberg, and made from the title-page of a copy in the Royal Library at Stockholm, the other made from a copy in the library of the University of Upsala, and placed at my service by the kindness of Dr. C. Annerstedt, principal librarian, and Dr. Aksel Andersson, assistant librarian. For the copy in the Library of Congress at Washington, though I had seen and read it before, could not be found at the moment of preparing this notice. Though this piece has not been, so far as I know, mentioned in any previous bibliography, it is referred to by Acrelius, Beskrifning om de Swenska Församlingars forma och närwarande Tilstånd, uti det så kallade Nya Swerige, Stockholm, 1759, in a footnote to p. 5 (p. 20 of Reynolds' translation). Professor Keen, in Winsor's Narrative and Critical History of America, iv., p. 490, cites it from him.—This piece is rare.

NYPL JCB

15. Vthförligh Förklaring/öfwer/Handels CONTRACTET / angående thet Södre Compagniet / vthi Konungarykет i Swerighe. / Stält igenom/Wilhelm Wsselinx. / Och nu aff thet Nederländste Språket/vthsatt på Swenska, /Aff / ERICO SCHRODERO. / Tryckt i Stockholm, aff Ignatio/Meurer, Åhr 1626.

Title + 98 printed pp. (Muller 1143). B. W.

This contains, 1. a preface Til Läsaren, dated Stockholm, July 2, 1626, also to be found in Nos. 16 and 20 ; 2. the Vthförligh Förklaring, most of which is a translation of the Naerder Bericht of No. 20, but with considerable omissions, especially that of the characterization and defence of Sweden, with some additions and changes, and with a different arrangement, so that, as it stands, it corresponds, so far as the material is identical, to the pages of the Argonautica taken in the following order, — pp. 38 second half, 39, 40 first half, 9,

10 first half, 18–23, 10 second half, 11, 12 first half, 23 ad fin., 15 first half, 24–26, 13, 27–30, 36, 37 first half, 41 second half; 3. Tilsätning, the Byvoeghsel of No. 20; 4. Summarisk Berättelse, the Sommier Verhael of No. 20, with the letters of the States General and Prince Maurice in Swedish translation. Rare; see notes 184, 194.

NYPL 16. Außführlicher Bericht / Vber den / MANIFEST: / Oder Vertrag Brieff der Australischen oder / Süder Compagney im Königreich / Schweden, / Durch / Wilhelm Wsselinx. / Auß dem Niederländischen in die Hochdeutsche / Sprache vbergesetzt. / Stockholm, / Gedruckt durch Christoffer Reusner. / Anno M.DC.XXVI.

Title + 133 printed pp. (Warmholtz 7629). P. W.

This contains, 1. a preface An den günstigen Leser, dated Stockholm, July 2, 1626, also to be found in Nos. 15 and 20; 2. VoorReden aen alle vromme Nederlanders, in Dutch, dated Stockholm, Oct. 17, 1625, to be found also in No. 20, and in the Argonautica Gustaviana; 3. the Auszführlicher Bericht, a translation of the Naerder Bericht of No. 20; 4. Anhang dieses aussführlichen Berichts, the Byvoeghsel of No. 20; 5. Summarische Erzehlung, the Sommier Verhael of August, 1623 (see note 147), accompanied by the letters of the States General, of Aug. 25, 1623, and of Prince Maurice, of Aug. 30, 1622, in German translation (see notes 140, 148); 6. Der Reiche Schweden General Compagnies Handlungs Contract, same as No. 13.

JCB 17. Octroy/Eller/PRIVILEGIUM/Som/Then Stormechtigste Högborne Furste / och Herre, / Herr Gustaff Adolph, / Sweriges Göthes och Wendes Ko- / nung, Storfurste til Finland, Hertigh vthi / Estland och Carelen, Herr vthöfwer / Ingermanland, etc. / Thet Swenske nyys vprättadhe Söder Com- / pagniet nädigst hafwer gifwit och bebrefwat. / [Royal Arms of Sweden.] / Stockholm, / Hoos Ignatium Meurer, / Åhr 1626.

Title + 14 printed pp.

The title of this Swedish edition of the charter was taken for me by Mme. Sjöberg from a copy in the Royal Library at Stockholm. It is not mentioned, so far as I know, in any previous bibliography; but it is referred to by Acrelius, p. 5 (p. 20 of trans.). In Winsor, iv., p. 490, it is cited from him.

18. OCTROY / Vnd / PRIVILEGIVM, / So / Der Allerdurchleuchtigste, Großmächtig- / ste Fürst vnd Herr, Herr / GUSTAVUS ADOLPHUS, / Der Schweden Gothen vnd Wenden König, / Großfürst in Finnland, Hertzog zu Ehesten vnd Ca- / relen, Herr zu Ingermanland, &c. / Der im Königreich Schweden jüngsthin auffgerichte- / ten Süder Company allergnädigst gegeben / vnd verliehen. / [Royal Arms of Sweden.] / Stockholm, / Gedruckt bey Ignatio Meurern, / Im Jahr 1626.

Title + 13 printed pp.

The title of this German edition of the charter was taken for me from a copy in the Royal Library at Stockholm. This is one of the four pamphlets reprinted in Marquardus, sub lit. N., the original of which Asher, p. 85, declared to be absolutely lost; it does not occur in any previous bibliography, so far as I know. It is printed in the Argonautica, pp. 9–16, and in Marquardus, ii., pp. 545–552, as well as in his preceding reprint of the Argonautica, sub lit. M., at pp. 380–387.

19. Octroy / Oder / PRIVILEGIUM, / So / Der Allerdurchleuchtigſte, Großmechtigſte Fürſt vnd Herr, / Herr Guſtaff Adolff, / Der Schweden, Gothen vnnd Wenden / König, Großfürſt inn Finland, Hertzog zu / Eheſten vnd Carelen, Herr zu Ingermanland, etc. / Der im Königreich Schweden jüngſthin auffgerichteten Süder Companey allergnedigſt gegeben / vnd verliehen. / Stockholm, / Gedruckt bey Ignatio Meurern, / Im Jahr 1626.

Title + 14 printed pp. (Warmholtz 7628).

This title is taken from a copy in the Royal Library at Stockholm. Dr. Klemming, the Royal Librarian, says that it was really printed in Germany. Its contents are, I take it, identical with those of the preceding.

20. Octroy/ofte/PRIVILEGIE,/Soo by den / Alderdoorluchtigsten Grootmachti-/gen Vorst ende Heer/HEER/Gustaff Adolph,/ Der Sweden, Gotten und Wenden Koningh, Groot-/vorst in Finland, Hertogh tot Chesten ende Carelen,/Heer tot Ingermanland, &c. / Aen de nieuw opgerichte Zuyder Compagnie/in 't Koningryck Sweden onlangs Genadigst/gegeben ende verleend is,/Mitsgaders een naerder Bericht, over 'tselve/Octroy ende Verdragh-brief./door/WILLEM VSSELINCX./In 's Graven-Hage, / By Aert Meuris,/ Boeckverkooper in de Papestraet/ in den Bybel, Anno 1627.

Title+98 printed pp. (Asher 41, Van der Wulp 2008, Muller 1142.) N. P.

This contains, 1. the charter; 2. a brief preface Tot den Leser, dated Stockholm, July 2, 1626; 3. Voor-reden aen alle vromme Nederlanders, of 6 pp., dated 1 October, 1625; 4. Naerder Bericht, forming the main body of the pamphlet; 5. Byvoeghsel or appendix, written on occasion of the loss of Bahia, and recounting Usselinx's services; 6. the Sommier Verhael of August, 1623, (see note 147), with the letter of the States General to the XIX. of the West India Company, of Aug. 25, 1623, and of Prince Maurice to the States General, of Aug. 30, 1622 (see notes 140, 148). Though printed later, this is the original of (most parts of) Nos. 15 and 16. Chesten is of course a misprint for Ehesten (Esthonia).

NYPL 21. Waerschouwinghe/Ober/Den Trebes met den Co-/ninck van Spaengien, aen alle goede / Patriotten, ghedaen met ghewichtige redenen. / Door *VVillem VVsselincx.*/ Ende / In Druck uytghegeven door een Lief-

heb-/ber des Vaderlants. / [Vignette representing the adoration of the Magi, surrounded by a legend consisting of Matthew, ii.: 10.]/TOT VLISSINGHEN,/Ghedruckt by Samuel Claeys Versterre, Boeck-/bercooper woonende op de Haben, inden Vergulden / Bybel, Anno 1630.

Title + 47 printed pp. (Asher 49, Laspeyres 71[1], Muller 1549, Tiele 2369). L.

This edition has no address to the States of Zealand, but simply a brief preface, Den Drucker tot alle goede Patriotten, on the reverse of the title-page. I am indebted to Professor Paul Fredericq, of the University of Ghent (the library of which now possesses the collections catalogued by Tiele and Van der Wulp), who kindly sent me information concerning this edition and a copy of its preface (at a time when I did not know that the Lenox Library possessed a copy), for pointing out to me that the legend surrounding the vignette upon the title-page, Doen sy nu de Sterre saghen, vervreuchden sy hen zeer met grooter vreuchden, contains a punning reference to the name of the printer, Versterre.

NYPL JCB

22. Vbaerschouwinge/Over den/TREVES/Met den Koningh van Spaignien./Door/*Willem VVsselinx.* / Ende / In Druck uytgegeven door een Lief-/hebber des Vaderlants. / TOT VLISSINGEN, / Gedruckt by Samuel Claeys Versterre, Boeckberkooper/ woonende op de Haben, inden vergulde Bybel, 1630.

Title + ii + 30 printed pp. (Asher 48, Laspeyres 71[2], Van der Wulp 2127). B.W.

The pamphlet is dated at the Hague, Jan. 16, 1630, and, instead of the preface, Den Drucker tot alle goede Patriotten, is preceded by a prefatory address of two pages to the States of Zealand, dated Flushing, Feb. 14, 1630. Asher dates his No. 48 in 1633, and adds the unintelligible description "89 pp. 30 l." But from what Dr. W. N. du Rieu, librarian of the University of Leiden, writes me concerning the copies of the two editions in his library and in the Royal Library at the Hague, kindly examined by him for me, I judge that these are simply misprints, and that the above is Asher 48. Of course it may have been reprinted in 1633, but Laspeyres, pp. 79, 297, says he never saw such a reprint.

23. AMPLIATIO / Oder / Erweiterung / Deß / PRIVILEGII / So / Der Allerdurchleuchtigste, Großmächtig- / ste Fürst vnd Herr / GUSTAVUS ADOLPHUS, / Der Schweden, Gothen, vnd Wenden Kö- / nig; Großfürst in Finnland, Hertz zu Ehesten vnd / Carelen, Herr zu Ingermanland, &c. / Der Newen Australischen oder Süder-Compagnie / durch Schweden vnd nun mehr auch Teutschland, aller- / gnädigst ertheilet vnd verliehen.

Title + 6 printed pp.

This and the two next succeeding numbers have not to my knowledge appeared in any previous bibliography; it is one of the four pamphlets reprinted in Marquardus, sub lit. N., the originals of which Asher, p. 85, confidently

supposed to be absolutely lost. I know of no copy in this country, but have been favored with a transcript of the title-page of a copy in the Royal Library at Stockholm, though the kindness of Dr. Klemming, the Royal Librarian, and of Mme. K. Sjöberg. The lower part of the page is torn, hence no doubt the absence of place and date, but the signature is dated Heilbronn, Apr. 10, 1633. The Ampliatio is printed in the Argonautica, pp. 17–20, and in Marquardus, ii., pp. 552–554, as well as in his preceding reprint of the Argonautica, sub. lit. M., at pp. 388–391. In Marquardus' reprint, the title has in addition the two lines Gedruckt zu Heylbrunn, bey Christoph Krausen, / im Jahr 1633. Mense Aprili.

24. Kurtzer / EXTRACT / Der / Vornemsten Hauptpun= / cten, so bißher weitläufftig vnd gründt= / lich erwiesen, vnd nochmals, jedermännig= lich, / vnwidersprechlich für Augen gestellet / sollen werden. / In Sachen der newen Süder Compagnie. / Gedruckt zu Heylbrunn bey Christoph Krausen. / Anno 1633. Mens. Aprili. / [Royal Arms of Sweden].

Title + 3 printed pp.

This also is one of the four pamphlets reprinted in Marquardus, sub. lit. N., the originals of which Asher supposed to be lost. The title above is taken from that of a copy in the Royal Library at Stockholm; I am indebted for it to Dr. Klemming and Mme. Sjöberg. The Kurtzer Extract is reprinted in Marquardus, ii., pp. 541, 542. It consists of ten paragraphs, but these are not identical with those of the Extract etlicher vornehmen Haubtpuncten in the Argonautica, pp. 6, 7, reprinted in Marquardus, ii., pp. 377, 378.

25. INSTRVCTION / Oder / Anleitung: / Welcher gestalt die Ein= / zeichnung zu der newen Süder Compagnie, / durch Schweden vnd nunmehr auch Teutschland, / zubefördern, vnd an die Hand zunehmen; der= / selben auch mit ehestem ein Anfang / zumachen. / [Royal Arms of Sweden.] / Gedruckt zu Heylbronn bey Christoff / Krausen. 1633. Mense Aprili.

Title + 6 printed pp.

This also is one of those pamphlets thought by Asher to be "absolutely and totally lost." I do not know of any copy in this country. For the above title, from a copy in the Royal Library at Stockholm, I am indebted to the kindness of Dr. Klemming and Mme. Sjöberg. The Instruction is printed in the Argonautica Gustaviana, Mercurius Germaniae, pp. 35–37; and in Marquardus, ii., pp. 542–545, as well as, with some slight differences of text, in his preceding reprint of the Argonautica, sub. lit. M., ii., pp. 520–523.

NYPL JCB

26. ARGONAVTICA GVSTAVIANA; / Das ist: / Nothwendige NachRicht / Von der Newen Seefahrt vnd / Kauffhandlung; / So von dem Weilandt Allerdurchleuchtigsten, Großmäch= / tigsten vnd Siegreichesten Fürsten vnnd Herrn, Herrn GVSTAVO / ADOLPHO MAGNO, der Schweden, Gothen vnd Wenden König, Groß= / Fürsten in Finnlandt, Hertzogen zu Ehesten vnd Carelen, Herrn zu Inger= / manlandt, &c. Aller=

glorwürdigſten Seeligſten Andenckens / durch anrichtung einer / General Handel=COMPAGNIE, / Societet oder Geſellſchafft, / In dero Reich vnd Landen, zu derſelben ſonderbahrem Auffnehmen vnd Flor, auß hohem Verſtandt vnd Rath, vor wenig Jahren / zu ſtifften angefangen: / Anietzo aber der Teutſchen Evangeliſchen Nation, inſonder= / heit den jenigen welche ſich in S. K. M. Freundſchafft, devotion, oder Ver= / bündnuß begeben, vnd ſich dieſes großen Vortheils, bey ſo ſtattlicher Gelegenheit, gebrauchen / wollen, zu vnermeßlichem Nutz vnd Frommen, auß Königlicher Mildigkeit, zuneigung vnd Gnade, / mitgetheilet worden: vnd mit dem förderlichſten, vermittels gnädiger verleihung deß / Allerhöchſten, fortgeſetzet vnd völlig zu Werck gerichtet / werden ſoll. / Darauß denn ein jedweder claren, gründ= lichen, vnd zu ſeinem Behuff ſatſamen / Bericht vnd Wiſſenſchafft dieſes Hochwichtigen Wercks einnehmen, vnd wie daſſelbe nicht al= / lein an ſich ſelbſt ſondern auch dieſes orths, Chriſtlich, hochrühmlich, Rechtmäſſig vnd hochnützlich, / auch practicierlich vnd ohne große difficulteten ſey, zur gnüge verſtehen kan, / Dabey auch zugleich vernünfftig erachten vnnd ermeſſen mag: Ob jhme vnd den ſeinigen, weß / Standes oder Condition er jmmer ſeyn möchte, dieſes hiemit jhme angewieſenen vorhabens, zwiſchen dieſem vnd dem, ge= / liebts Gott, nächſtkommenden Newen Jahrs Tage, durch einſchreibung ſeines Namens vnd einer gewiſſen Poſt / Gel= des, es ſey ſo viel es wolle, ſich theilhafftig zu machen rathſam vnd thun= lich / erfunden werden möchte. / Was aber für allerhandt vnterſchiedene Schrifften, dieſe Sache betreffendt, / allhier beyſamen vorhanden; ſolches wird die nächſtfolgende Seite zeigen. / I *Regum* 9. / Vnd Salomo machte Auch Schiffe zu Ezeon Geber, die bey Eloth ligt am Vfer deß Schilff= / Meers im Lande der Edomiter: Vnd Hiram der König zu Tyro ſandte ſeine Knechte im / Schiff, die gute Schiffleute vnd auff dem Meer er= fahren waren, mit den Knechten Salomo, / vnd kamen gen Ophir, vnd holeten daſelbſt Vierhundert vnd zwanzig Centner Goldes, vnd / brachtens dem Könige Salomo. / Gedruckt zu Franckfurt am Mayn, bey Caspar Rödteln, / Im Jahr Chriſti 1633. Mense Junio. / Mit der Cron Schweden Freyheit.

Title + xix. + 55 + 51 printed pp. (Warmholtz 7630). B. H. L. N. P. W.

Asher, who had never seen the original of the Argonautica Gustaviana, (nor indeed most of the numbers here catalogued), conjectured that there was a copy in America, probably from having observed a reference to it in a footnote of Mr. Bancroft's first volume; as above noted, there are now several copies in the country. I am informed that four copies are known in Sweden. The work contains, after a table of contents on the reverse of the title-page, 1. Patent oder öffentlich Ausschreiben wegen dieses Vorhabens, a proclamation or

notice by Oxenstjerna, dated Frankfort-on-the-Main, June 26, 1633, calling attention to the reissue of the charter with amplifications, and recommending it to all; 2. Extract etlicher vornehmen Haubtpuncten auss folgenden Schrifften, in two pages under ten heads, not quite identical with No. 24, *supra*; on the next page one J. B. (perhaps Jan Beyer), from goodwill and "ne pagina vacaret," has added a Latin poem of ten lines, asking God's blessing on the project; 3. Octroy und Privilegium S. K. M. von Schweden Aller Glorwürdigsten Angedenckens, the original charter, in 37 articles, dated Stockholm, June 14, 1626; 4. Ampliatio oder Erweiterung solches Privilegij auff die Teutsche Nation, in fourteen articles, dated Nuremberg, Oct. 16, 1632, but left unsigned by Gustavus, and signed by Oxenstjerna at Heilbronn, Apr. 10, 1633; 5. Formular dess Manifest und Vergleich oder Contract-Brieffs der Compagnie, five pp., identical in contents with Der Reiche Schweden General Compagnies Handlungs Contract, No. 13, and with the last division of Auszführlicher Bericht, No. 16, and nearly identical with Manifest und Vertragbrieff, No. 12; 6. in Dutch, Voorreden aen alle vromme Nederlanders, which had already appeared in Nos. 16 and 20, dated Stockholm, Oct. 17, 1625; 7. Auszführlicher Bericht uber solchen Contract-Brieff, occupying pp. 9–43, being the essay, translated from the Dutch of No. 20, which gives its title to No. 16, with slight amendments and changes of translation here and there; 8. Anhang dieses ausführlichen Berichts, with appendices A. B. C. (pp. 43–55), being the same German translation of the Byvoeghsel of No. 20 which had appeared in No. 16, the three letters being, A, the Sommier Vernael of Aug., 1623, here dated 1622, translated, B, the letter of the States to the W. I. Company, Aug. 25, 1623, in Dutch, C, that of the Prince to the States, Aug. 30, 1622, also untranslated; 9. Mercurius Germaniae, das ist, Sonderbahre Anweisung für Teutschlandt: Wie beneben dem Allgemeinem Wesen, der Kauffhandel vnd Seefahrt, vnd ins gemein alle Nahrung darinnen sehr zuvermehren vnd zu verbessern: Also das selbige Lande hiedurch zu ihrem vorigen Flor vnd Wollstand in kurtzem widerumb gelangen mögen, occupying pp. 1–34; 10. Instruction Oder Anleitung, as to the mode of subscription, pp. 35–7, nearly the same as No. 25; 11. appendices D to K, containing, with various comments, D, a letter of Gustavus to the States General, in Latin, dated Jan. 27, 1629, E, an extract from the resolutions of the States on Apr. 17, 1629, F, brief letters of the States to the Company and of the Company to the States, of Nov. 17, 1629, and Dec. 3, 1629, respectively, G, the long memorial of Usselinx to the States, Aug. 15, 1630, pp. 41–48, H, I, an order of the States, Aug. 31, and a resolution, Sept. 6, 1630, K, a commission to Usselinx as director of the Company, signed by Oxenstjerna, Heilbronn, May 1, 1633.

At the end of the Harvard College copy, for the loan of which I am indebted to the librarian, Justin Winsor, Esq., is bound up a tract of four pages which I have not seen mentioned in any bibliography, bearing the half-title, Ampliation Oder Erweiterung von dem Octroy vnd Privilegio, der newen Süyder-Handels Compagnia, durch Last vnd Befehl von die Deputirten der löblichen Confoederirten Herren Ständen, der vier Ober Cräysen zu Franckfurth, anzustellen verordnet, den 12. December Anno 1634. At the end is the colophon, Gedruckt zu Hamburg, durch Heinrich Werner, Im Iahr Christi 1635.

27. The following in part consists of certain writings of Usselinx (the engraved title is omitted):

NYPL JCB

TRACTATUS/POLITICO-JURIDICUS/*DE*/IURE MERCATO-/RUM ET COMMERCIO-/RUM SINGULARI, / *IN QUO*/Ex Iure Divino, Publico, et Privato, Communi, Ci-/vili, Canonico, Feudali, Saxonico nec non variorum Juris Interpretum/ Commentariis ac Consiliis, diversis Imperii Romano-Germanici, Regnorumque Franciae,/Hispaniae, Lusitaniae, Italiae, Angliae, Scotiae, Daniae, Sueciae, Poloniae, Moscoviae, Persiae, Vene-/tae, Belgii, Hanseaticarum et aliarum Rerumpubl. Ducatuum Civitatum Constitutionibus,/Ordinationibus, Statutis municipalibus, Moribus, Privilegiis, Pactis, Contractibus, ut et Phi-/losophorum, et Historicorum Classicorum axiomatibus, exemplis atque monitis Politicis,/Jura Commerciorum Singularia, IV. Libris secundùm tria Juris objecta summa-/tim collecta, exposita et illustrata sunt./ Accesserunt in fine Tractatus/*Ipsa Privilegiorum, Constitutionum, Statutorum, Pactorum, &c. Exemplaria, peculiari designatione juxta seriem Alphabeti, summis vigiliis atq. impensis, in gratiam Lectoris, passim con-/quisita, partim verò nunquam publicè visa./ AUTHORE/* IOHANNE MARQVARDO, ICto / Cum Privilegio Sac. Caes. Majest. / *FRANCOFVRTI*, / Ex Officinâ THOMAE MATTHIAE GÖTZII,/ANNO M DC LXII.

2 vols., pp. xiv., 572; iv., 744 (Asher 42–47, Laspeyres 59-61, 83, Muller 1136, Sabin 44661). N. W.

The parts of this work which are reprints of writings of Usselinx are comprised in appendices M and N, in the second volume. Under the letter M, at pp. 373–540, is given a complete reprint of the Argonautica Gustaviana. The only differences in the reprint seem to be: first, that on p. 401, just before the Auszführlicher Bericht, is a note to the reader, reminding him that events since 1633 have necessarily caused alterations in some provisions of that which follows; secondly, on pp. 469, 470, of the letters accompanying the Anhang dieses aussführlichen Berichts, B and C now appear not only in the original Dutch, but also in German translations. This matter under M constitutes Asher's No. 43. The reprints of the Auszführlicher Bericht, of the Anhang, and of the Copey Lit. A, (i. e., pp. 398–469) constitute respectively Laspeyres' Nos. 59, 60, 61. He is altogether in error, however, in saying that the last is the Vertoogh hoe nootwendich, of 1608. It is the Sommier Verhael of August, 1623. The reprint of the Mercurius Germaniae, (i. e., Marquardus, ii., pp. 471–520) is Laspeyres' No. 83.

Under the letter N are reprinted, at pp. 541–554, the four pamphlets which are in this bibliography numbered respectively 24, 25, 18, and 23,—the Kurtzer Extract, the Instruction oder Anleitung, the Octroy und Privilegium, and the Ampliatio oder Erweiterung. These four are in Asher numbered 44, 45, 46,

and 47 respectively. Of the first, second, and fourth of them in the reprint, he says, in the passage (p. 85) already referred to: "As far as we know, these are the only remains of the existence of these pamphlets, which are now neither rare nor unique, but absolutely and totally lost." As will have been seen, I have had the good fortune to find that there are in the Royal Library at Stockholm copies of the original editions of all four. But, as the notes appended in the case of each will have shown, they contain virtually no new material; for they are, with but slight exceptions, merely separate issues of parts of the Argonautica, which Marquardus added to his reprint of the latter in ignorance or carelessness of the fact that he was thus repeating.

II.—WRITINGS NOT PRINTED.

Under this head are included writings of Usselinx not printed by him or in his lifetime. In designating the copies of some of them at Albany I have used the notation of a provisional calendar of them which I left there after concluding my examination of them. Excepting these fifteen (eleven of which are printed in Van Rees), and Nos. 3, 67, and 70, all the following are described from copies in my own possession. In a few cases, it will be seen, there may be a doubt of authorship; I have had only copies by which to decide.

1. A brief memorial or request to the States General; undated, but of about the year 1617. Rijksarchief, Hague.

2. A brief memorial or request to the States of Holland; undated, but of about the autumn of 1617. Rijksarchief, Hague.

3. The draft of a charter prepared by Usselinx. [1619.] Rijksarchief, Hague. Printed by O. van Rees, Geschiedenis der Staathuishoudkunde in Nederland tot het Einde der achttiende Eeuw, ii., pp. 384–408.

4. Corte aenwysinge van de voornaemste verschillen tusschen 't concept van octroy op WestIndien dat by de Hoog Moogende Heeren, mynheeren de Staten Generael inde maent van Februario anno 1619 aen de respective Provincien is gesonden ende tgene daerna by de Gecommitteerde uit de groote Zee Steden van Hollandt ende West-Vrieslandt is beraemt; Hague, Apr. 13, 1620. Rijksarchief, Hague. A copy is among the Murphy papers in the Library of the State of New York at Albany, designated as B. 1 : 1. Printed by Van Rees, ii., pp. 408–432. (Laspeyres 25.)

5. Memorial to the States General; Hague, Oct. 5, 1621. Rijksarchief, Hague; copy at Albany, Murphy papers, B. 1 : 2. Laspeyres, in the bibliography of his Geschichte der volkswirthschaftlichen Anschauungen der Niederländer, gives as No. 26 a memorial of Oct. 21, 1621; but Mr. L. Ph. C. van den Bergh, archivist at the Hague, informs me that this date cannot be right, and that this of Oct. 5th must be the memorial meant.

6. Memorial to the States General; presented Dec. 3, 1621. Rijksarchief, Ha-

gue ; copy at Albany, Murphy papers, B. 1 : 3. Printed in Van Rees, ii., pp. 433–435. (Laspeyres 27 ; his 28 I cannot identify.)

7. Memorial to the States General ; presented Jan. 21, 1622. Rijksarchief, Hague ; copy at Albany, Murphy papers, B. 1 : 4. Printed by Van Rees, ii., pp. 435–440, who remarks in a foot-note : "Een gedeelte dezer memorie is bijna woordelijk overgenomen in het *Kort Berigt* achter het *Octroy* enz. van 1627." The passages referred to are on pp. 44, 45 of the Argonautica. (This and the next form Laspeyres' 48.)

8. Presentatie ende Eysch van Willem Wsselincx ; presented Jan. 22, 1622. Rijksarchief, Hague ; two copies at Albany, Murphy papers, A. 4, B. 1 : 8. Printed in Van Rees, ii., pp. 440–442.

9. Memorie voor mijnheere Vooght. Belangende 't versoucke van Wilhelm Wesselincx. Rijksarchief, Hague ; copy at Albany, Murphy papers, B. 1 : 8. Printed in Van Rees, ii., pp. 442–445. In note 137 I have shown that the date of this and the two succeeding documents is June, 1622 ; the order in which I give them is that in which they occur in the archives.

10. Memorie Willem Wesselincx—Voor de E. E. heeren de Gecommitteerde van hare Ho. Mo. over de saecken van West Indien. Rijksarchief, Hague ; copy at Albany, Murphy papers, B. 1 : 6. Printed in Van Rees, ii., pp. 445–447.

11. Memorie Willem Wesselinx Voor mijn heere Vooght. Rijksarchief, Hague ; copy at Albany, Murphy papers, B. 1 : 7. Printed in Van Rees, ii., pp. 447–453.

12. Memorial to the States General ; presented June 15, 1622. Rijksarchief, Hague ; copy at Albany, Murphy papers, B. 1 : 9. (Laspeyres 49.)

13. Memorial to the States General ; presented early in November, 1622. Rijksarchief, Hague ; copy at Albany, Murphy papers, this and the next, No. 14, designated B. 1 : 10. Printed in Van Rees, ii., pp. 453, 454. (Apparently this is Laspeyres' No. 50, though he gives it a date, Nov. 21, 1622.)

14. De voornaemste pointen daer 't Octroy mede moet geamplieert worden om tgelt te becomen tot de WestIndische Compaignie ; appendix to the preceding. Rijksarchief, Hague ; copy at Albany, Murphy papers, with preceding, B. 1 : 10. Printed in Van Rees, ii., pp. 455–461. (Laspeyres 51.)

15. Memorial to the States General ; presented Nov. 6, 1622. Rijksarchief, Hague ; copy at Albany, Murphy papers, B. 1 : 11.

16. Brief letter to the States General, apparently handed in with the following. Rijksarchief, Hague.

17. Memorial to the States General ; Hague, Feb. 24, 1623. Rijksarchief, Hague.

18. A document without heading or date, beginning "Nademael Godt Almaghtigh," etc., evidently a Dutch draft of "Manifest und Vertragbrieff," No. 12 of the printed works, *supra*, and therefore of the beginning of November, 1624. Oxenstjerna Samling, Riksarkiv, Stockholm.

19. A draft in Dutch of a charter. in 37 articles. for a General Trading Company; Elffsborg, Nov. 4, 1624. Oxenstjerna Samling, Riksarkiv, Stockholm. It is virtually identical with the charter issued June 14, 1626, and to be found in Dutch in Octroy, No. 20 of the printed works, *supra*.

20. A draft in Dutch of the commission of Dec. 21, 1624, to Usselinx. Riksarkiv, Stockholm. I suppose there is no doubt that these three Dutch drafts are by Usselinx. A copy of the last, in Swedish, "Fullmacht för Wellam Ussling, at inrätta ett General-Handels-Compagnie til Asien, Africa, America och Magellanica," is in the library of the Historical Society of Pennsylvania at Philadelphia; one in print, in the Royal Library at Stockholm.

21. Aenwysinge van den Coophandel Die wt het Coninckryck Sweden sal konnen gedreuen worden op Africa, Asia, America ende Magellanica door 't oprechten van een generale Comp:e; presented in the year 1624. Oxenstjerna Samling, Riksarkiv, Stockholm. A note at the end reads "Ick hebbe raetsaem geuonden, dit vertoog te laeten gelyck ick het ouer 17 Jaeren hebbe gestelt, om dat men te beter soude sien de kleyne veranderinge, die in dese saeke is gevallen sints dien tyt, ende dat nu soo wel ende beter kan int werck gestelt worden," etc. This would not leave it certain whether we have here a document written in 1624, and used again in 1641, on the return of Usselinx to Sweden; or whether it is one written in 1607 and used again in 1624. But several such references as that to Raleigh's voyage to Guiana indicate the former, if the statement of the final note is taken to be exact; and this is confirmed by finding in one of the notes a reference to the Argonautica.

22. Memorie Von [? voor] myn Heere Carel Bannier om Geldt in Vranckryck te bekomen tot de Suyder Compaignie; Stockholm, July 7, 1625. Oxenstjerna Saml., Riksarkiv, Stockholm.

23. Letter to the chancellor, Count Axel Oxenstjerna; Stockholm, July 11, 1625. Oxenstj. Saml., Riksarkiv, Stockholm.

24. Letter to the Chancellor; Stockholm, Aug. 20, 1625. Oxenstj. Saml., Riksarkiv, Stockholm.

25. Memorie van 'tgene noch dient tot beuoorderinge vande Suyder Compaignie; apparently of the autumn of 1625. Oxenstj. Saml., Riksarkiv, Stockholm.

26. Memorie Hoe in dit Ryck Middelen sullen bekomen worden tot de Suyder Compaignie, ende waer toe sy voorderlyck is; perhaps of the year 1625. Oxenstj. Saml., Riksarkiv, Stockholm.

27. Memorie Tot bevoorderinge vande Suyder Compaignie; of about the autumn of 1625. Oxenstj. Saml., Riksarkiv, Stockholm.

28. Verscheyden Redenen dienende tot bevoorderinge vande Suyder Compaignie; of the latter part of 1625. Oxenstj. Saml., Riksarkiv, Stockholm.

29. Eenige bedenckinge tot bevoorderinge vande Suyder Comp:e; of about the spring of 1626. Oxenstj. Saml., Riksarkiv, Stockholm.

30. Letter to Chancellor Oxenstjerna ; Stockholm, Nov. 3, 1626. Oxenstj. Saml., Riksarkiv, Stockholm.

31. Letter to Gustavus Adolphus ; of the earlier half of 1627. (?) Riksarkiv, Stockholm.

32. Lyste Van die geteekent hebben inde Suyder Comp:e die ouer de Verkiesinge der Directoren mogen komen soo Volgens geteekent hebben ; apparently of the spring of 1628. Oxenstj. Saml., Riksarkiv, Stockholm.

33. Korte aenwysinghe vande groote Nutticheyt ende voordeelen die de Stadt Rÿga kan trecken wt de Suyder Comp:e ; Riga, Jan. 4, 1628. Riksarkiv, Stockholm. This document was Exhibit B. to No. 40, below.

34. Korte aenwÿsinghe hoe de Stadt Revall met Godts hulpe soude konnen gebracht worden tot haeren ouden fleur ende welstandt ; Reval, Feb. 7, 1628. Riksarkiv, Stockholm. This document was Exhibit D. to No. 40, below.

35. Bedenckinge van eenige besondere voordeelen die de Stadt Wÿborgh ende geheel Finlandt, sal konnen Trecken wt de Suyder Compaignie ; Viborg, Feb. 23, 1628. Riksarkiv, Stockholm. This document was Exhibit E. to No. 40, below.

36. Kårt förklaringh huadh besynnerligh fordell och profyt vthj Finlandh särdeles och i synnerheet dhenne Stadhen Abo, Aff dätte Södre Comp. hafua kan ; Abo, Mar. 9, 1628. Riksarkiv, Stockholm. This document was Exhibit F. to No. 40, below.

37. Korte aenwysinghe van eenighe besondere voordeelen die de Inwoonders van 't groot Vorstendom Finlandt ende Noortlanden connen trecken wt de Suyderlandtsche Comp:e ; May, 1628. Riksarkiv, Stockholm. This document was Exhibit H. to No. 40, below.

38. Memorie van 't ghene byde Hoof Participanten moet versocht worden ; of May, June, or July, 1628. Riksarkiv, Stockholm. Exhibit I. to No. 40, below.

39. Memorie Willem Wsselinx Tot bevoorderinge der Suyder Compaignie ; presented May 5, 1628. Riksarkiv, Stockholm. There appear to be three copies of this in the Riksarkiv ; one of them was exhibit A. to No. 40, below.

40. Letter to Chancellor Oxenstjerna ; Stockholm, July 19, 1628. Oxenstj. Saml., Riksarkiv, Stockholm.

41. Memorie Aen syn Genaede de Heer Ryckx Cancelier Tot bevoorderinge der Suyderlandtsche Compaignie ; Stockholm, July 19, 1628. Oxenstj. Saml., Riksarkiv, Stockholm.

42. Letter to Chancellor Oxenstjerna ; Stockholm, Oct. 13, 1628. Oxenstj. Saml., Riksarkiv, Stockholm.

Laspeyres in his bibliography gives as No. 75 a memorial of Usselinx to the States General, dated Apr. 22, 1630 ; (misprinted 1636, but placed under the year 1630) ; but Mr. van den Bergh informs me that this is in his opinion an error, no such memorial being found in the Rijksarchief.

43. Memorial to the States General; Hague, Aug. 15, 1630. Oxenstj. Saml., Riksarkiv, Stockholm. This is the same memorial which is printed in the Argonautica Gustaviana, No. 26 of the printed books above, as appendix G. to the Mercurius Germaniae, pp. 41–48.

44. A draft in Dutch of a commission to Usselinx as commissioner for the business of the company in Germany; probably of August or September, 1630. Riksarkiv, Stockholm.

45. Bedencken vber die Schwedische Suyder Compagnia (in German); probably of the year 1630. Oxenstj. Saml., Riksarkiv, Stockholm.

46. Letter to Chancellor Oxenstjerna; Stralsund, Nov. 12, 1630. Oxenstj. Saml., Riksarkiv, Stockholm.

47. Korte aenwysinge, hoe Pommerlandt ende voornemelyck de Stadt Straelsundt sullen konnen gebracht worden tot haeren ouden fleur ende Welstandt ende den Coophandel, Seevaert, neeringe ende welstandt inde selve verbetert; Stralsund, Dec. 30, 1630. Oxenstj. Saml., Riksarkiv, Stockholm.

48. Naerder aenwysinge ouer de vermeerderinge ende verbeteringe vanden Coophandel, Zeevaert ende Neeringe, in Pomerlandt, ende voornemelyck in dese Stadt Olden Stettin; Stettin, Sept. 7, 1631. Oxenstj. Saml., Riksarkiv, Stockholm.

49. Memorie voor syn Ex:tie Myn Heere den Legaet Carel Bannier; Stettin, Oct. 3, 1631. Oxenstj. Saml., Riksarkiv, Stockholm.

50. Kort verhael vande voorneemste pointen die ick hebbe bewesen, ende bereyt ben naerder te bewysen; written in Pomerania, probably in 1631. Oxenstj. Saml., Riksarkiv, Stockholm.

51. Letter to Chancellor Oxenstjerna; Stettin, Dec. 19, 1631. Oxenstj. Saml., Riksarkiv, Stockholm.

52. Letter to Chancellor Oxenstjerna, with postscript; Mainz, Apr. 3, 1632. Oxenstj. Saml., Riksarkiv, Stockholm.

53. Artyckelen Die in het Octroy dienen geamplieert; apparently of 1632. Oxenstj. Saml., Riksarkiv, Stockholm.

54. Aen syn Ex:tie Myn Heere den Ryckx Cantseler. Memorie, Aengaende de Suyder Compagnie; Würzburg, July 30, 1632. Oxenstj. Saml., Riksarkiv, Stockholm.

55. Memorial oder Auszug etlicher Motiven, dadurch vornemblich die Teutsche Fürsten vndt Stände zubewegen die Newe Sueder Compagnia zu handthaben vndt zubefordern; presented at Heilbronn, in the spring of 1633. Oxenstj. Saml., Riksarkiv, Stockholm.

56. Brief memorial to Chancellor Oxenstjerna; probably of May, 1633. Oxenstj. Saml., Riksarkiv, Stockholm.

57. A memorial, addressed to the town-council of Frankfort-on-the-Main; Frankfort, Aug., 1633. Oxenstj. Saml., Riksarkiv, Stockholm.

58. Request or memorial to Chancellor Oxenstjerna ; Frankfort, Nov. 14, 1633. Oxenstj. Saml., Riksarkiv, Stockholm.

59. Briefue Declaration de la principale Cause, qui ma esmeu de venir en France ; Paris, Dec. 1, 1634. Oxenstj. Saml., Riksarkiv, Stockholm. Archives des Affaires Étrangères, Paris. Beside these two copies of mine, there is a copy of this among the Mickley papers in the library of the Historical Society of Pennsylvania.

60. Briefue Deduction par Laquelle est monstre qu'il seruira plus a la Grandeur, Gloire, Splendeur et profit du Roy et du Royaume de France, s'il plaict a sa Mag:té de permettre que ses Subiects entrent en la Compagnie Marchande du Sud ou Australe qui se dresse en Allemagne et Suede que si pareille Compagnie se dressat en France; Paris, Feb. 13, 1635. Oxenstj. Saml., Riksarkiv, Stockholm.

61. Letter to Chancellor Oxenstjerna; Hamburg, Sept. 4, 1635. Oxenstj. Saml., Riksarkiv, Stockholm.

62. Memorial Van 't gene moodich is, om te kommen tot een eyndlyck Slot vande Suyder Compagnie ; Stralsund, Nov. 9, 1635. Oxenstj. Saml., Riksarkiv, Stockholm.

63. Korte aenwysinghe van de nuttigheden ende voordeelen die dese Vereenigde landen sullen konnen trecken, wt het oprechten van een nieuwe Suyder Compagnie ende derselver combinatie met de croon Sweden ; Hague, Apr. 21, 1636. Rijksarchief, Hague ; another contemporary copy is in the Oxenstj. Saml., Riksarkiv, Stockholm ; a modern copy is in the library of J. C. Brevoort, Esq., of Brooklyn. Van Rees, ii., p. 137, refers to the document as of date April 22, 1636 ; it is No. 87 in the bibliography of Laspeyres. Van Rees, ii., p. 138, mentions a letter of Usselinx accompanying this (see my foot-note No. 292) ; but the letter sent me from the Hague as an appendix to this is a quite different one, and not by Usselinx.

64. Letter to Chancellor Oxenstjerna ; Hague, Apr. 30, 1636. With postscript of May 9, 1636. Oxenstj. Saml., Riksarkiv, Stockholm.

65. Letter to Chancellor Oxenstjerna; Hague, June 10, 1636. Oxenstj. Saml., Riksarkiv, Stockholm.

66. Letter to Chancellor Oxenstjerna ; Hague, Aug. 1, 1636. With postscripts of Aug. 29, and Sept. 12, 1636. Oxenstj. Saml., Riksarkiv, Stockholm.

67. Notitie van 't geene in't Coninckrijck Sweeden ende naburige landen is geteeckent ende ingewillicht tot de Suyder Compaignie ; Sept. 11, 1636. Rijksarchief, Hague. Printed, from a copy in the Hilten collection, in the Kronijk of the Historisch Genootschap te Utrecht, vol. xxix. (1873), pp. 135–140, with the title, Aanbod ten einde eene Zuider Compagnie op te richten met de Kroon Zweden ; Notitie van 't geene, etc., but with the date Sept. 15th, which, Mr. van den Bergh informs me, is incorrect ; that Sept. 11th is the true date is confirmed by a statement in the last postscript of No. 66, above.

68. Letter to Chancellor Oxenstjerna ; Hague, Oct. 4, 1636. Oxenstj. Saml., Riksarkiv, Stockholm.

69. A brief memorial to the States General, presented Oct. 8, 1636. Rijksarchief, Hague. This is the document to which Van Rees, ii., p. 139, notes 1 and 2, refers as of Oct. 9.

70. Memorie voor de Heeren Gecommitteerde van Haere Ho. Mo. op de Saeken vande Suyder Compagnie ; Hague, Mar. 28, 1637. Rijksarchief, Hague. Printed in Van Rees, ii., pp. 460, 461. It is No. 94 in the Bibliography of Laspeyres.

71. Letter to Chancellor Oxenstjerna ; Hague, Nov. 4, 1637. With appendix, Extract wt het Register der Resolutien vande Ho. Mo. Heeren Staten Generael der Vereenigde Nederlanden ; Avis den 29 October 1637. Oxenstj. Saml., Riksarkiv, Stockholm.

72. Letter to Chancellor Oxenstjerna ; Hague, Jan. 8, 1638. Oxenstj. Saml., Riksarkiv, Stockholm.

73. Letter to Chancellor Oxenstjerna ; Hague, Apr. 2, 1638. Oxenstj. Saml., Riksarkiv, Stockholm.

74. Bedenckingen ouer d'oprechten van een Generale handels Compagnie ; Hague, May 1, 1638. Oxenstj. Saml., Riksarkiv, Stockholm.

75. Considerations sur l'Erection d'une Generale Compagnie Marchande soubs Le nom de la Comp:e Australe ; Hague, May 1, 1638. Oxenstj. Saml., Riksarkiv, Stockholm. Translation of the preceding.

79. Letter to Johan Beyer, secretary of the Queen of Sweden ; Hamburg, Mar. 16, 1639. Oxenstj. Saml., Riksarkiv, Stockholm.

76. Octroy et Privileges de la Compagnie du Sud ; endorsed, Project, von S:r Vsseling mitt Mons:r d'Avau vndt H. Thomas Röe communiciret, Welcher gestalt eine Conjunctur zu wasser in fiem [form ?] einer general handels Compagnie zwischen Schweden, Franckreich vndt Engellandt getroffen werden könte ; presented March 21, 1639. Oxenstj. Saml., Riksarkiv, Stockholm.

78. Letter to Chancellor Oxenstjerna ; Hamburg, Aug. 24, 1639. Oxenstj. Saml., Riksarkiv, Stockholm.

79. Letter to the States General ; Hamburg, Oct. 25, 1639. Rijksarchief, Hague. Some extracts from this are printed in the foot-notes of Van Rees, ii., p. 107 note 2, p. 141 note 2, p. 156 note 1.

80. Letter to the States General ; Hamburg, Apr. 7, 1640. Rijksarchief, Hague.

81. Letter to the States General ; Hamburg, Oct. 23, 1640. Rijksarchief, Hague. This, with the next following, is No. 112 in the bibliography of Laspeyres.

82. Letter to the States General ; Hamburg, Apr. 9, 1641. Rijksarchief, Hague. With the preceding, it forms No. 112 in the bibliography of Laspeyres.

83. Memorial to Chancellor Oxenstjerna ; probably of 1641. Oxenstj. Saml., Riksarkiv, Stockholm.

84. Staet ende Inkommen vande West Indische Compagnie by eenige particuliere wtgegeuen Anno 1640; Stockholm, Dec. 24, 1641. Oxenstj. Saml., Riksarkiv, Stockholm.

85. Relatie van myn verrichtinge op de reyse van Vlfersundt ende Vpsala; Stockholm, Feb. 2, 1642. Riksarkiv, Stockholm.

86. Memorial to Chancellor Oxenstjerna; Stockholm, Aug. 22, 1642. Oxenstj. Saml., Riksarkiv, Stockholm.

87. Request to the States General; of about July 1, 1644. Rijksarchief, Hague.

88. Memorie aenwysende tot wat eynde de West-Indische Compagnie opgerecht ende tot haren aenvanck gebracht is, door verscheyden voorstellingen ende aenmaeningen aen Haer Ho. Mo., den prinse Maurits hooghloffelycker gedachtenis ende de provintien van Hollandt ende Zeelandt gedaen t sedert t jaer 1592–1623; Hague, Oct. 3, 1644. Rijksarchief, Hague; copy at Albany, Murphy papers, A. 6. Printed in Van Rees, ii., pp. 461–475, who, however, omits the preface. (Laspeyres 132.)

89. Memorie van t' gene ick onder andren tot nut ende voordeel van dese Vereenigde Nederlanden ende de goede ingesetenen van dien noch voor te dragen hebbe; Hague, Oct. 15, 1644. Rijksarchief, Hague; copy at Albany, Murphy papers, A. 7. Printed in Van Rees, ii., pp. 476–489. (Laspeyres 133.)

90. Naerder aenwysinge, to the States General; Hague, Jan. 16, 1645. Rijksarchief, Hague; copy at Albany, Murphy papers, A. 8. Mr. van den Bergh's communication gives this the date Jan. 6th, but as in the next memorial it is mentioned as of Jan. 16th, I retain the date which the Albany copy bears. (Laspeyres 136.)

91. Memorial to the States General; Hague, Mar. 27, 1645. Oxenstj. Saml., Riksarkiv, Stockholm.

92. Memorial to the States General; Hague, Apr. 13, 1645. Oxenstj. Saml., Riksarkiv, Stockholm.

93 Letter to Chancellor Oxenstjerna; Hague, Apr. 25, 1645. Oxenstj. Saml., Riksarkiv, Stockholm.

94. Letter to Johan Beyer, secretary of the Queen of Sweden; Hague, June 13, 1645. Oxenstj. Saml., Riksarkiv, Stockholm.

A fac-simile of the signature of Usselinx is given on p. 443 of the Narrative and Critical History of America, vol. iv.

INDEX.

Aa, A. J. van der, quoted, 21, 57, 104, 187
Aanbod ten einde, 218; see Notitie van 't geene
Åbo, 129; Usselinx at, 130, 131; title of memorial, 216
Abyssinia, trade with, 92
Accord, etc., of 1642, 72
Acrelius, I., quoted, 205, 206
Advies tot Aanbeveling, etc., 19; not by Usselinx, 76
Aenwysinge van den Coophandel, described, 92, 93; quoted, 57; title, etc., 215
Aerssens, Cornelis and Frans, 27
Africa, Usselinx on interior of, 92
Aitzema, L. van, quoted, 72, 146, 179
Albert, Archduke, 17; on West India Co., 46
Albujarota, 190
Albuquerque, Jeronymo de, 104
Algemeene Geschiedenis des Vaderlands, see Arend, J. P.
Alkmaar, 48
Alva, Duke of, in Antwerp, 15, 200
Amalie von Solms, 149
Amazon, Zealand's plantation on, 70; servant of Usselinx from, 92
Amersfoort, 142
Ampliatio oder Erweiterung, 162, 211, 212; described, 168, 169; bibliography, 208, 209
Ampliation oder Erweiterung, described, 211; printed, 175, 176; quoted, 168, 172; bibliography, 211
Amsterdam, Usselinx at, 29, 50, 55, 92, 175; chamber of W. I. Company at, 33, 146; merchants of, drain Beemster, 48; opposes a scheme of Usselinx, 187
Anderde Discours, etc., not by Usselinx, 74, 75
Andersson, A., 205
Andersson, Per, director of South Co., 122; obtains subscriptions, 132; manages rope-walk, 133, 138; advises applying funds to navy, 151
Angra, in Terceira, 20
Annerstedt, C., 205
Anstruther, Sir R., 190
Antwerp, 14, 16, 18, 115; state of, in 1567, 15; events there, 17; colonists to Azores, 19; decline of, 21; fears of its revival, 26, 38, 39; Usselinx proposes chamber of South Co. at, 161
Arboga, river, Usselinx plans to drain lands near, 192; town, 193
Archangel, 128, 163
Arckenholtz, J. W., quoted, 168, 169, 171–3, 175, 189
Arend, J. P., Algemeene Geschiedenis, quoted, 60, 66, 69, 87, 141, 142, 143, 145, 147, 150, 178, 187–9, 195, 200
Arfwedson, C. D., quoted, 96, 100, 117
Argonautica Gustaviana, 7, 172, 204–7, 212, 213, 217; described, 169, 170; quoted, 14–169, *passim*, 214, 215; bibliography, 209–211
Armada, Spanish, treasure from, 48
Arminians, 27, 83, 88; see Remonstrants
Arnberg, J. W., quoted, 95, 96, 97, 101
Arnim, H. G. von, 135
Artyckelen Die in het Octroy, etc., described, 160, 161; title, etc., 217
Asher, G. M., Bibliographical Essay, 9; quoted, 14, 19, 21, 22, 27, 28, 34, 44, 50, 74, 76, 81, 178, 179, 181, 188, 201–4, 207–10, 212; wrongly attributes certain pamphlets to Usselinx, 36; his Henry Hudson quoted, 27, 45
Athanasius Inga, 101
Augsburg, 159, 163
Australis, Terra, see Magellanica
Australische Compagnie, see South Company

Auszführlicher Bericht, 204, 205, 211, 212; described, 106–11; printed, 116, 117; copies sent out, 119; used at Riga, 126; reprinted in Arg. Gust., 170; quoted, 28, 64, 79, 86, 87, 102; bibliography, 206; Anhang described, 112; quoted, 53, 64, 75, 85, 86, 111
Avaux, Claude de Mesmes, Count d', 185, 189; encourages Usselinx, 186
Avis, Grand Master of, 190
Azores, 101; Usselinx in the, 18–21; state of the, 19–21

Bacon, 63
Baden, G. L., quoted, 88–90
Bahia, capture and recapture of, 111, 112
Baltic Sea, struggle for, 124, 134, 135; trade in, 141; Spaniards in, 144; trade of Dutch in, 149
Banér, Carl, memorial drawn up for, 103; memorial to, at Stettin, 156, 157; titles, etc., 215, 217
Banér, Johan, 183
Banér, Svante, 113, 121, 126
Barneveld, see Oldenbarneveld
Bedencken vber die Schwedische Suyder Compagnie, 152; title, etc., 217
Bedenckingen over d'oprechten, etc., 182; title, etc., 219
Bedenckinghen, quoted, 128; described, 136–139; bibliography of, 201
Bedford Level, draining of, 198
Beemster, the, 21, 47, 191; described, 48; drained, 48, 49; Usselinx resident there, 49, 52; misfortunes there, 51, 52, 196
Bellin, Christian von, 90
Bentivoglio, Cardinal, quoted, 24, 34
Berg van Dussen Muilkerk, W. J. E., 9; quoted, 30, 35, 52, 78, 200
Bergen-op-Zoom, 78, 79
Bergh, L. Ph. C. van den, 8, 11, 19, 22, 23, 26, 56, 213, 216
Bermuda, 165
Bernhard of Saxe-Weimar, Duke, 172
Bethlen Gabor, 67
Beyer, Jan, 14, 170, 175, 211; letter of, 179, 180; letters of Usselinx to, 184, 185, 198, 199, 219, 220
Bielke, Nils, 129
Biographiskt Lexicon, quoted, 104, 105, 113, 126
Bisaccioni, Majolino, quoted, 115
Blekinge, 91
Block Company, 50
Blommaert, Samuel, letter of, to Oxenstjerna, 181; on Usselinx, 182; promotes Delaware settlement, 183, 184
Bodel Nyenhuis, J. T., 29, 50
Bogislav XIV., Duke of Pomerania, 153, 156
Bohemia, war in, 66; States General assist, 67
Bohuslän, 91
Bois-le-Duc, see Hertogenbosch.
Boneel, Benjamin, glass manufacturer, 105
Boreel, Willem, 186; interviews of Usselinx with, 187, 189
Borgå, 129; Usselinx at, 130
Bouman, J., 9; quoted, 47, 48, 49, 51, 200
Boye, F., quoted, 152, 180, 183
Brabant, see Netherlands, southern
Brahe, Ebba, 91
Brahe, Magnus, 118
Brahe, Per, quoted, 129
Brandenburg, Elector of (George William), 125, 156
Brandt, G., quoted, 200
Bray, L. C. de, quoted, 125, 127
Brazil, 30, 60, 108, 111, 194, 195; Usselinx opposes attacks on, 68, 75, 76, 112; advice respecting, 140, 196
Breda, 140, 142
Breitenfeld, 155, 158, 172
Bremen, Usselinx at, 175; Dutch embassy to, 186
Brevoort, J. Carson, 101, 218
Bricka and Fredericia, quoted, 46
Briefue Declaration, described, 174; quoted, 87, 90, 93, 168, 171, 172; title, etc., 218
Briefue Deduction, described, 174; quoted, 116, 175; title, etc., 218
Brill, W. G., 22
Brittany, 103
Brown, Mrs. J. C., and J. N., 37, 81, 85, 117
Brussels, 142; government at, 46, 52, 53
Bryer, Anteunis, assists Usselinx, 130
Bucquoy, Count, 74
Bülow, G. von, 156
Burgon, J. W., quoted, 15
Bye-Korf, Den Nederlandtschen, 36, 38
Byvoeghsel, 111, 206, 207, 211; see Auszführlicher Bericht, Anhang.

Caerden, Paulus van, 30
Callao, 82, 83

Calvinists, 27, 55, 56, 66; in Sweden, 91, 103
Camerarius, L., 141, 176; and the loan of troops, 142, 143; assists Usselinx, 178; quoted, 88, 111
Canaries, Usselinx not there, 19
Capellen tot Ryssel, Jonkheer Henrick van der, 200
Carelia, 100; Usselinx in, 128
Carleton, Sir Dudley, quoted, 66; see also Dorchester.
Caron, 27
Catalonia, Usselinx on revolts in, 190
Catholics, attitude of Usselinx toward, 17, 39, 41, 45, 83, 108, 126, 148, 149, 186
Cent-Associés, Compagnie des, 173
Charles I., of England, 149, 185; instructions to Roe, quoted, 144
Charles IX., of Sweden, 91, 95, 125
Charles Lewis, elector palatine, 185
Charvériat, E., quoted, 185, 189
Christian IV., 88–90, 97, 102, 105, 134, 186
Christian of Brunswick, 79
Christina, Queen of Sweden, 193; quoted, 168, 169, 171–3, 175, 189
Christina of Holstein-Gottorp, Queen-Dowager of Sweden, 105, 111
Circles of German Empire, four upper, meet at Heilbronn, 168; at Frankfort, 172
Clergy, Swedish, subscriptions of, 122, 179, 180
Cleves, Duchess Sibylla of, 74
Colbert, revives scheme of Usselinx, 174
Colonies, Usselinx on, 43, 44, 63, 64, 196, 197; W. I. Company not bound to foster, 71, 72
Columbus, Usselinx compares himself to, 80, 89, 151, 196
Commelin, Caspar, quoted, 21
Commerce, a general exposition of, 92
Companies, commercial, 60; in Sweden, 95–7, 133; in France, 173, 174
Compiègne, 175
Considérations sur l'érection, 182; title, etc., 219
Contra-Remonstrants, 55, 56
Conversion of heathen, Usselinx on, 62, 108
Copenhagen, Usselinx at, 89, 90
Copper Company, in Sweden, 132
Cordova, 79
Corte aenwysinge, described, 68; quoted, 54, 59, 63, 75; title, etc., 213
Council of the Indies, plan of Usselinx for, 63, 64, 69, 100, 161
Council, Swedish royal, 118, 120, 194; censure directors of South Co., 163; see also Svenska Riksrådets Protokoll
Courland, 100; Usselinx traverses, 124; Duke of, 125
Coxe, W., quoted, 193
Cronholm, A., quoted, 96, 135
Cumberland, Earl of, at Azores, 20

Daler, value of, 94; divisions of, 130
D'Anjou's Archives, quoted, 104
Danzig, 118, 178; purpose of Usselinx to go to, 87, 88, 176; pestilence at, 90
Delaware, Swedish colony on the, 115; not in South Company's original patent, 161; colony founded, opinion of Usselinx on, 184, 185
Denmark, 91, 135, 142, 186, 198; Usselinx and commercial matters in, 89, 90
Derde Discours, not by Usselinx, 74
Derendahl, Johan, 127
Der Reiche Schweden . . . Compagnies . . . Contract, 99, 204, 206; described, 101, 102; bibliography of, 204, 205; in Argonautica, 211
Deschamps, Léon, quoted, 173, 175
Diet, Swedish, see Riksdag.
Dijck, Jacob van, 91
Dirschau, 124
Discours by Forme van Remonstrantye, not by Usselinx, 36
Discours daer in, 1621, 74
Dodt van Flensburg, J. J., 30
Donauwörth, 159
Dorchester, 143; see also Carleton.
Dort, Synod of, 56; memorial of Usselinx to, 62
Dorth, Jan van, 87
Drake, Sir Francis, at Azores, 20
Drenteln, Thomas von, 127
Droysen, G., quoted, 91, 102, 106, 124, 135, 143–5, 153, 157, 160, 162, 163
Drummond's Terceira quoted, 20
Dunes, battle of, 188
Dunkirk, 135
Dutch East and West India Companies; see East India Company, Dutch, and West India Company, Dutch.
Dyck, see Dijck.

East India Company, Danish, 60, 89, 90, 165

East India Company, Dutch, 29, 33, 36, 50, 58–61, 64, 70, 109, 177, 181; shares of Usselinx in, 51; said to desire his services in East Indies, 138; history, 194; refuses union with W. I. Company, 195, 197; Usselinx on, 196; rechartered, 200
East India Company, English, 60, 165
East India Company, French, 60, 174
East Indies, trade of, 20, 43
Economics, opinions of Usselinx on, 43, 44, 45
Eenige bedenckinghe, etc., 215
Elbing, 134, 153
Elfsborg, 93, 99, 128
Elimaeus, Olaf, Bishop of Viborg, 130
Elizabeth, Queen of Bohemia, 181
Elsinore, 46
Elzevier press, 81
Emanuel, Prince of Portugal, 53, 57, 140
Emden, 141, 186; Usselinx at, 141, 152, 153, 175, 176; subscriptions from, 179
England, American colonies of, 92, 93; alliance with Netherlands against Spain, 106; projected W. I. Company in, 181
Enkhuizen, 31
Eriksson, Per, secretary, 105
Esthonia, 100, 113, 207; Usselinx in, 127, 128
Eusselinx; see Usselinx.
Examen over het Vertooch, not by Usselinx, 74, 75
Excellent Discourse, in Le Hermite, 37
Extract etlicher vornehmen Haubtpuncten, 209; printed in Argonautica, 211

Falkenberg, Didrik van, 120, 146, 147; Usselinx goes to Netherlands with, 139; Usselinx assists, 141; sends him to Hague and to Gustavus about loan of troops, 142, 143; neglects him, 145, 151, 152
Fayal, 19, 20
Ferdinand II., Emperor, 66, 67, 148; Usselinx on attitude of, toward South Country, and designs of, 166, 175, 177
Fernow, B., attributes Westindische Spiegel to Usselinx, 101
Feuquières, Manasses, sieur de, 168
Finland, 100, 104, 114; economic condition of, 128, 129; Usselinx in, 129–132; language used, 130; Usselinx addresses inhabitants of, 131, 132, 136.
Finland Company, an obstacle to South Co., 114, 127, 128, 129, 133
Fleming, Clas, vice-admiral, 139, 182; seeks advice of Usselinx on New Sweden, 184
Fleming, Henrik, 104, 123
Flemings, in the Azores, 19; see Netherlands, southern.
Flessinghe, see Usselinx.
Fleurus, 79
Flodorp, Count, assists Usselinx, 178
Florida, Usselinx on, 93
Flushing, Waerschouwinghe published at, 147, 208
France, South Co. to be furthered in, 103; trade of Netherlands with, 149; colonial and commercial projects of, 165, 173, 174
Francken, François, 29, 31, 34, 53
Frankfort on the Main, 16, 158; Usselinx at, 159; present at convention there, 171, 172; memorial to council of, quoted, 168, 170; title, etc., 217
Frederick, elector palatine, 66, 67, 79, 140
Frederick III., Duke of Holstein-Gottorp, 88
Frederick Henry of Nassau, Count, 66, 79; Prince of Orange, 140; Usselinx recommended to, 139; besieges Hertogenbosch, 142; intercedes for Usselinx, 146; Usselinx refers to, 149; has interview with, 178
Fredericq, P., 17, 203, 208
Frederikstad, 87; Usselinx visits, 88
French, Usselinx's knowledge of, 17, 174
Friesland, 24; chamber of W. I. Company in, 69, 70; threatened by imperialists, asks help of Falkenberg, 142; Usselinx and the States of, 176, 177
Friesland, East, 141; Count of, 175
Friis, Christian, 90
Fruin, R., 22
Fryxell, A., quoted, 91
Fürth, 162, 163

Gardie, Jakob de la, 126
Gardiner, S. R., quoted, 67, 68, 79, 143, 150, 185, 198
Geer, Louis de, 132
Gefle, Usselinx at, 131

Geijer, E. G., quoted, 91, 93, 111, 120, 122, 125, 167, 172
Gelderland, 142
Génard, P., 15, 16
General Commercial Company of Sweden, see South Company.
German, Usselinx writes in, 152
Germany, plans of Gustavus respecting, 102, 106; he begins war in, 153; successes in, 158–160; inclusion of, in South Co., 159–161; Usselinx on, 164, 165; see Thirty Years' War.
Gfrörer, quoted, 94, 96
Gindely, Anton, quoted, 67, 68, 79
Glückstadt, 87; Usselinx visits, 88, 187
Godyn, 27
Gomarus, 27
Gothenburg, 87, 90, 91, 93, 95, 101; Usselinx arrives there, 91; subscriptions from, 121; a company to be set up there, 162
Graphaeus, Anton, 134
Gravenweerd, 79
Greifenhagen, 153
Grenville, Sir Richard, at the Azores, 20, 21
Gripen, ship, 184
Grisons, the, 38
Groen van Prinsterer's Archives, quoted, 22, 25, 53
Grondich Discours, bibliography of, 202; see also Bedenckinghen.
Groningen, 24; chamber of W. I. Company in, 69, 70; threatened by imperialists, asks help of Falkenberg, 142; Usselinx at, 143, 176, 177
Groot, Arendt de, friend of Usselinx, 119, 120, 175
Grotefend, H., 159, 172
Grotius, Hugo, 24, 56; quoted, 32, 34
Guiana, company for, 173
Guinea trade, 49, 50, 73, 165; merchants, 52
Gustavus Adolphus, 125, 178, 211; conference of Usselinx with, 92; takes Usselinx into his service, 93; commercial policy of, 95–97; politics in 1625, 97; commissions Usselinx, 100; on Swedish aptness for commerce, 101; plans of, in 1625, 102; charters South Co., 114; encourages Usselinx, 116; chooses directors, charges clergy, 122, 123; Usselinx goes to, 123, 124; promises help to company, 133; maritime plans of, 135; letter of Usselinx to, 136, 216; payments to Usselinx, 137; permits his return to Netherlands, and gives recommendation, 138, 139, 170; receives Usselinx in Prussia, 143; Usselinx expresses confidence in, 148; measures of, for creating a navy, 151; unites South and Ship Companies, 152; in Pomerania, 153; Usselinx excuses, 155; in South Germany, 158–160; leaves "amplifications" unsigned, 162; plans company at Gothenburg, 163; Usselinx on, 166; effect of death of, 167; payments to Usselinx, 189, 196
Güstrow, 145
Gyllenhjelm, Carl Carlsson, 184

Haersolte, reprimands Usselinx, 150
Hague, the, 31, 52, 55, 79, 85, 103, 111, 141, 199, 202; Congress at, 1625, 106; rapid journey of Usselinx to, 1629, 142; he returns to, 145; Waerschouwinghe dated, 147; Usselinx goes to, 176, 177
Halland, 91
Hallenberg, quoted, 97, 100
Halma, F., quoted, 79
Hamburg, 46; discourse to be reprinted at, 119, 120; printing done at, 137, 175, 176; Usselinx at, 143, 152, 175, 176, 185–190; conference of ambassadors at, 182, 185
Handlingar rörande Scandinaviens historia, quoted, 121, 129
Hanse towns, 88, 125, 127, 135
Harrington, Sir J., 89
Harte, W., quoted, 115, 162, 164
Hasselt, Usselinx family originate in, 16
Hatfield Chase, draining of, 198
Hazard, Ebenezer, source of O'Callaghan's translation of W. I. Co.'s charter, 72
Heilbronn, 169, 209; convention at, 167; South Co. discussed and "amplification" signed at, 168; see Memorial oder Auszug.
Heinsius, D., 104
Helsingfors, 129; Usselinx at, 130
Hertogenbosch, siege of, 142, 145
Hesse, landgrave of, (Wilhelm V.), 156
Heyn, Piet, 87, 138
Hjelmar, lake, 192
Hoeffnagel, 91
Holberg, L., quoted, 88
Holland, draining in, 47
Holland, North, chamber of W. I.

Company in, 33 ; Usselinx in, 34 ; draining of lakes in, 48 ; cities dispute as to salt trade, 73–75
Holland, States of, described, 24, 25 ; action respecting W. I. Company, 31 ; their resolutions, 31, 34 ; their first draft of charter, 32–34 ; suppress Bye-Korf, 45 ; charter company for the Beemster, 48 ; temporarily revive West India project, 50 ; grant *sureté de corps*, 54 ; their deputies oppose Usselinx, 55 ; revolutionized, 56 ; resume the project of a W. I. Company, 58 ; maritime cities report a draft of charter, 1619, 59 ; its provisions, 60, 61 ; renew *sureté*, 65 ; refuse hearing, 66 ; opposed to having a Council of the Indies, 69 ; will not reconsider, 76 ; recompense Usselinx in part, 77 ; their conduct generally, 84 ; will not assist Usselinx, 145, 146 ; copy of Waerschouwinghe presented to, 147 ; they reprimand Usselinx for it, 150 ; give him *sureté de corps*, 175 ; reject proposals of union with South Co , 178, 181 ; slight Usselinx, 188, 195 ; refer his last papers to the W. I. Company, 199
Holland, States of, memorials of Usselinx to, quoted, 55, 182 ; title, etc., 213
Holstein, Persian company of, 177 ; see also Frederick III.
Hondius, Jodocus, and Hendrik, 27
Hoop Scheffer, J. G. de, quoted, 30
Hoorn, 31, 48, 69, 75
Horn, Clas, 118
Horn, Gustaf, 126, 172
Housekeeping and house-cleaning, Usselinx on Dutch, 110
Hungary, King of, (Ferdinand III.), 172
Hunziker, J., quoted, 38
Hyltén-Cavallius and Stephens, quoted, 93

Ijssel, 142, 143
Îles d'Amérique, Compagnie des, 173, 175
Infante, the Cardinal, (Ferdinand), 172
Ingermania, 100 ; Usselinx in, 128, 134
Instruction oder Anleitung, described, 169 ; bibliography of, 209 ; in Argonautica, 211 ; in Marquardus, 212
Isabella, archduchess, 17, 79, 147

James I. of England, 67, 68
Jameson, J. F., article on New York, 71
Jeannin, President, 29, 45, 46
Jeckel, Hans Jacob, 159
Jews, in Brazil, 68, 76
John Casimir, count palatine, 111, 162
Jönköping, 93
Jöransson, Eric, 134
Juan I. of Castile, 190
Juliers, 79

Kabbeljouw, Abraham, 91, 96, 103 ; superintends union of South and Ship Companies, 152 ; prosecuted by shareholders, 164
Kabbeljouw, Margaret, 91
Kalmar Nyckel, 184
Kapp, Friedrich, 10 ; quoted, 170
Keen, Professor G. B., 100, 164, 184, 190, 194, 205
Kerckhove, Melchior van den, 57
Khevenhiller, F. C. von, quoted, 115, 169
Klemming, G. E., 205, 207, 209
Klinckowström, R. M., quoted, 152, 162
Klopp, Onno, quoted, 141, 145, 147, 150
Knäröd, 90
Kneschke, E. H., quoted, 178
Königsberg, 119
Koopman, De, quoted, 17
Köping, 191 ; Usselinx surveys reclaimable lands near, 192, 193
Korte Aenwysinge, 176 ; described, 177 ; title, etc., 218
Korte aenwysinghe . . . Finland, described, 131, 132 ; publication hoped for, 136 ; title, etc., 216
Korte Onderrichtinghe, 74; described, 80, 81 ; bibliography of, 203
Kort verhael vande voorneemste pointen, 155 ; title, etc., 217
Koskinen, Y., quoted, 129, 130
Krakau, Karel van, 46
Kullberg, N., ed. See Svenska Riksrådets Protokoll.
Kungsör, 192, 193
Kurtzer Extract, 170 ; described, 169 ; bibliography of, 209 ; in Marquardus, 212

Laet, Joannes de, 27, 101 ; quoted, 72, 75, 87, 112, 182
Lamb, Martha J., quoted, 72
Langh-verwachten Donder-slach, see Tweede Noot-wendiger Discours.

Laspeyres, É., Volkswirthschaftliche Anschauungen der Niederländer, 10; quoted, 14, 42, 70, 74, 81, 201–204, 208, 212–214, 216, 218–220; pamphlets attributed by him to Usselinx, 74, 81
Le Clerc, quoted, 79, 87
Le Hermite, Jacques, 37
Le Maire, Isaac and Jacob, 27
Lennep, J. van, 88, 91
Lerma, Duke of, 22; on W. I. Company, 46
Leslie, Alexander, 156
Levendich Discours, not by Usselinx, 74, 75
Liège, 16, 17 [29, 31
Linschoten, Jan Huyghen van, 19, 20,
Lipsius, Justus, 27
Lisbon, trade with Sweden, 108
Lithuania, Usselinx traverses, 124
Livonia, 100, 102, 104, 113, 114, 121, 133, 154; its state, in 1628, 125; journey of Usselinx through, 126; subscriptions from, 179, 180
Loccenius, quoted, 96, 121, 164
Löffler, Jacob, recommends South Co. at Frankfort convention, 172
Lonchay, H., quoted, 17
London, Netherlanders in, in 1567, 15
Louis XIII., 185; addressed by Usselinx, 174
Lubeck, 164; Usselinx at, 143, 176
Luehr, T., 127
Lützen, 162
Lyste van die geteeckent haben, analyzed, 121; title, etc., 216

Maas, chamber of W. I. Company on the, 33
Macpherson, D., quoted, 187
Magazine of American History, article in, on New York, 71
Magdeburg, 176
Magellan, Straits of, 83
Magellanica, 60, 62, 92, 99, 108, 117
Mainz, 69; Usselinx at, 158
Mälar, lake, 191, 192
Manifest und Vertragbrieff, 170, 205; issued, 93; summarized, 98, 99; bibliography of, 204; in Argonautica, 211
Mansfeld, Count, 79
Mantuan war, 149
Maranham, settlement on, 104
Marienburg, Usselinx at, 143
Mark, Swedish, value of, 130
Marquardus, J., reprints in, 14, 86, 115, 167, 169, 207–9; bibliography of, 212, 213
Martin, H., quoted, 174
Masku, 128
Massa, Isaac, friend of Usselinx, 53, 104
Matanzas, victory in bay of, 138
Mauicongo, river, 92
Maurice of Nassau, Count, Prince of Orange, 32, 34, 37, 47, 49, 55, 63, 64, 66, 67, 77, 78, 84, 126, 140, 149; head of war-party, 22; his *coup d' état*, 56; conversation with Usselinx, 57, 58; recommends compensation of Usselinx, 65, 79, 112, 115
Maximilian, Duke of Bavaria, 67
Mecklenburg, 134, 135, 144, 153; dukes of, 156
Memorial oder Auszug, 168, 169; title, etc., 217
Memorial van t gene noodich is, 176; title, etc., 218
Memorie aenwysende, quoted, 21–196, *passim*; described, 195, 196; title, etc., 220
Memorie, Hoe in dit Ryck, 112, 113; title, etc., 215
Memorie tot bevoorderinge, 112, 113; title, etc., 215
Memorie van de ghewichtighe redenen, not by Usselinx, 36
Memorie van t' gene ick, etc., 196, 197; title, etc., 220
Memorie van t gene noch dient, etc., 112, 113; title, etc., 215
Memorie van t ghene by de Hoof Participanten, etc., 216
Mendoça y Cespedes, Don Francisco de, 34
Mercantilism in Sweden, 95; in Finland, 129
Mercure François, quoted, 32
Mercurius Germaniae, described, 164–167; printed, 170; in Argonautica, 211; in Marquardus, 212; quoted, 14–169, *passim*, 209
Meteren, E. van, 27; quoted, 14, 29, 30, 32, 35–38, 71, 116
Meulman, Isaac, see Wulp, J. K. van der
Meurer, Ignatius, printer, 117
Mickley, J. J., some account of William Usselinx, etc., 10; discussed, 86, 87; quoted, 112, 140, 146, 15:
Micraelius, Johann, quoted, 156
Middelburg, 50; Antwerp emigrants to, 18; Usselinx at, 29, 37
Middelgeest, Simon van, friend of Usselinx, 104
Milton's Defensio, 193

Minuit, Peter, 183, 184
Missive daer in, 1621, 74
Mithobius, Hektor, recommends South Co. at Heilbronn, 168
Moerbeeck, Jan Andries, 75
Molbech, C., quoted, 88, 90
Monier, A., friend of Usselinx, 104, 119, 123, 198
Monier, Cattarina, loan from Usselinx to, 198
Montecuculi, Count, 142, 145
Morbihan, Compagnie du, 173
Moryson, Fynes, quoted, 21, 88
Moser, C. F. von, quoted, 93, 106, 176, 178
Motley, J. L., quoted, 22, 35, 38, 45, 56
Moucheron, Balthazar de, 27
Muller, Frederik, 9, 49, 104; catalogue of Americana quoted, 117, 201, 202, 207, 208, 212
Mummenhoff, Dr., 172
Munich, 159
Murphy, Henry C., 7, 17
Murphy Library sale-catalogue, in error, 37
Musch, A., 150

Nacelle de St. Pierre, Compagnie de la, 173
Naerder aenwysinge, etc., 197; title, etc., 220
Naerder Bedenckingen, 37, 45; date of, 37, 38; described, 39–42; quoted, 27, 28; bibliography of, 202
Naerder Bericht, 205–7, see Auszführlicher Bericht.
Narva, Usselinx at, 128
Nederlandtsche Bye-Korf, see Bye-Korf.
Nelbeurch, Elisabet ter, niece of Usselinx, 198, 200
Netherlanders, draining enterprises of, 47, 48, 198; in Sweden, 90, 91; as traders, 131, 132
Netherlands, southern, 23, 38–41; emigrants from, 27, 39, 40, 42, 101; addressed by Usselinx, 107; he proposes a chamber for, in South Co., 161; in Hamburg, 185
Netherlands, United, politics of, in 1606, 22, 23; constitution of, 23–25; parties in, 25–27; relations to Thirty Years' War at its beginning, 66, 67; renew war, 78, 79; economic contrast of, with Sweden, 94; alleged advantages of Sweden over, 102, 108, 109; alliance with England against Spain, 106; Hapsburg design against, 135; subscriptions to South Co. from, 137; embassies of, to Bremen, Denmark, and Sweden, 186, 187, 189; make peace with Spain, 199, 200
Netscher, P. M., quoted, 197
Neuburg, 161
Neuf, H. van, 16
Newfoundland, see Terra Nova.
New France, see Nova Francia.
New Netherland, and the charter of the West India Company, 71; Usselinx on settlements in, 184, 185; see Virginia.
New Sweden, see Delaware.
New York Colonial Documents, quoted, 100, 101, 115, 133, 161, 200
Nilsson, Lars, secretary, 105
Nilsson, Måns, 192
Nilsson, Vallentin, 124
Nineteen, see West India Company, Dutch.
Nootwendich Discours, possibly by Usselinx, 204
Nördlingen, 162; defeat of Swedes and allies at, 172, 173
Norrköping, subscriptions at, 132; rope-walk of South Co. at, 132–4, 138
Norrland, Usselinx in, 131; addresses inhabitants of, 132, 136
Notitie van 't geene, etc., described, 179, 180; quoted, 124, 183; title, etc., 218; see Utrecht, Kronijk.
Nova Francia, Usselinx on, 93, 109
Nuremberg, 16, 159; "amplifications" subscribed at, 161, 162; reissue Oxenstjerna's proclamation, 171, 172
Nuyts, David, friend of Usselinx, 104
Nyhoff, M., 117
Nyköping, 113, 134; subscriptions at, 132

O'Callaghan, E. B., 12; mistranslates charter of W. I. Company, 71; errors copied from Hazard, 72
Octroy eller Privilegium, 114, 117; bibliography of, 206
Octroy et Privileges, 186; title, etc., 219
Octroy oder Privilegium, 114, 117; bibliography of, 207
Octroy ofte Privilegie, described, 106–111; printed, 106, 117; quoted, 19, 79, 86, 87, 102, 114, 214; bibliography of, 207; see also Auszführlicher Bericht.

Octroy und Privilegium, 114, 115, 117; bibliography of, 206, 207; in Argonautica, 211; in Marquardus, 212
Octroy van dè W. I. Co., cited, 71, 72; Octroy mette Ampliatien, cited, 72
Odhner, C. T., 10; quoted, 164, 184, 190, 194
Oldenbarneveld, Johan van, 25, 26, 34, 49, 54–7, 146; opposes Usselinx, 52, 112; reasons therefor, 53
Onpartydich Discours, not by Usselinx, 36
Oost-Indischen Eclipsis, Den vervaerlycken, see Nootwendich Discours.
Ootmoedighe Beklagh-redenen, see Nootwendich Discours.
Opel, Julius, quoted, 79, 88–90. 93, 102, 106
Orange party, 56; become supreme in Holland, 58
Örebro, ordinance of, 96
Östergötland, 134
Overijssel, Usselinx and the States of, 176, 177
Oxenstjerna, Axel, 7, 88, 90, 93, 106, 112, 118, 121, 135, 162, 171, 179, 180, 211; sends Usselinx through the Baltic provinces, 124; letter of, on South Co., 127, 130; on Finland, 128; commissions a substitute for Usselinx, 134; payments to Usselinx, 137, 170, 175, 177, 182; marches to Würzburg, 160; last meeting with Gustavus, 162; directs the allies, 167; furthers South Co., and signs "amplifications," 168; commissions Usselinx, 169; issues proclamation, 170; visits France and Netherlands, 175; suggests commercial combination with the latter, 176; assists in founding Delaware settlement, 184; discourages draining operations, 194; letters and memorials of Usselinx to, 17, 46, 53, 104–6, 111, 113, 114, 118, 120, 124, 128, 132, 136, 138, 143, 144, 154, 158, 160, 169, 172, 175–8, 181, 182, 186, 187, 189, 191, 192, 194, 197, 198; titles, etc., 215–220
Oxenstjerna, Bengt, 119
Oxenstjerna, Carl, 119
Oxenstjerna, Gabriel Bengtsson, 120, 184
Oxenstjerna, Gabriel Gustafsson, 118, 120, 184
Palatinate, Spinola in, 68
Palmén, E. G., quoted, 95, 129
Pamphlets, Dutch, of seventeenth century, 35
Panama, 82
Paris, 103; Usselinx at, 173–5
Patent oder offentlich Auszschreiben, 160; quoted, 170; described, 210
Pauw, Regnier, ambassador, 175
Pedro III., of Aragon, 190
Pedro, Don, 52, 53
Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography, translations in, quoted, 182, 184, 190, 194
Pernau, Usselinx at, 126, 127
Persian Company of Holstein, 177
Peru, Usselinx projects expedition against, 82; confutes sciolist from, 82, 83
Pigeonneau, H., quoted, 174
Pikmans, Pieter, 48
Pilgrim Fathers, 68; and P. Plancius, 30
Placcaet Boeck, Groot, 72
Plancius, Petrus, 17, 27; friend of Usselinx, 29, 30
Poland, 126; Swedish war with, 97, 102, 106, 118, 124, 125; ends, 143; trade with, 125, 154
Politiicq Discours, 74; described, 81, 82; quoted, 46; bibliography of, 203, 204
Pomerania, 134, 135; state of, 154, 155; Gustavus in, 153; Usselinx in, 152–8; subscriptions from, 179, 180; Duke of, see Bogislav XIV. See also Stettin, Stralsund.
Poore, B. P., Constitutions, 161
Portugal, Usselinx in, 18; plans attack on, 34; on revolts in, 190
Portuguese, 132; in Brazil, 68, 76, 195; Jew, at Hamburg, 189, 191
Presentatie ende Eysch, 77, 78; title, etc., 214
Prussia, 100, 119, 126; war in, 118, 124; trade with, 154; Usselinx goes to, 123, 124; again, 141–3; subscriptions from, 179, 180
Puaux, F., quoted, 103
Punta de Araya, 19, 29, 60, 75
Purmerend, 34, 48

Raleigh, Sir W., 215
Rasch, Christoph Ludwig, 113, 144
Ravardière, Sieur de la, 104
Redenen waeromme, etc., not by Usselinx, 74, 75
Rees, O. van, Gesch. der Staathuishoudkunde in Ned., 10; quoted,

14, 30, 34, 36, 42, 45, 52, 62, 63, 75, 76, 104, 176, 195, 199, 200, 204, 213, 214, 218–20
Remonstrants, 55, 56 ; Usselinx's attitude toward, 41, 88, 148
Reval, 113, 114, 129 ; Usselinx at, 127, 128 ; title of memorial, 216
Richelieu, 148 ; commercial and colonial policy of, 173 ; does not adopt proposals of Usselinx, 174 ; quoted, 168, 171, 175
Ridderschap of Holland, 55
Rieu, W. N. du, 8, 11, 31, 75, 81, 204, 208
Riga, 104, 113 ; Usselinx at, 124–6 ; its state, 125 ; title of memorial, 206
Riksdag, South Company recommended to, 120 ; discuss means of providing ships, 151 ; advise union of South and Ship Companies, 152
Rixdollar, value of, 94
Roberts, Hon. Ellis H., 72
Roe, Sir Thomas, quoted, 143 ; instructions to, quoted, 144 ; at Hamburg, 185 ; encourages Usselinx, 186, 187
Rope-walk of South Company, 132–4, 138
Rotertt, Bartelmeus, 127
Rothenburg, 162
Rouen, 103
Roy, Gabriel de, 164 ; captures Usselinx, 144 ; approaches him at Hamburg, 189
Rühs, C. F., quoted, 129, 130
Rundstyck, value of, 130
Russia, trade with, 125, 128, 129, 131, 132, 136, 149, 154
Russian Company, 128, 133
Russwurm, quoted, 127
Rutgersius, Jan, 104

Sabin, J., Dictionary of Americana, quoted, 201, 203, 204, 212
St. Malo, 103
Salt trade, in W. I. Company's charter, 31, 69, 73–75 ; Usselinx on, 74 ; in Sweden, 132
Salvius, Johan Adler, secretary, 105 ; at Hamburg, 185, 189
São Salvador da Bahia, see Bahia.
Saxony, Elector of, (John George), 156, 173, 175
Saxony, Lower, 90, 102, 120
Scaliger, J. J., quoted, 47
Scheiding, Holger, 134
Schenkenschanz, 79
Schiemann, Th., 114, 127, 128
Schlegel, J. H., quoted, 88–90
Schoonhoven, Goovart van, 52
Schroderus, see Skräddare.
Schrowe, Thomas, 127
Schwind, Johann, 159
Schybergson, M. G., quoted, 46, 88, 91, 102, 104, 106, 111, 141
Sconia, 91
Senegambia, company for, 173
Seville, Usselinx at, 18
Ship Company, of Sweden, established, 151 ; South Co. united with, 152 ; see also South Company.
Sibylla, Duchess of Cleves, 74
Sierra Leone, 57
Sigismund III., King of Poland, 102, 125
Siglitz, Albrecht, agent of South Co., 105
Silfvercron, see Spiring.
Sille, de, 27
Sillem, W., quoted, 185
Sixt, Abraham, 66
Sjöberg, Mme. K., 11, 100, 205, 206, 209
Skräddare, 113
Skytte, Johan, 105, 106, 113, 118
Slade, 30
Slavery, Usselinx on, 43, 44, 109
Sluys, 79
Smith, Capt. John, quoted, 191
Soetermeer, draining of lake at, 49, 191 ; property of Usselinx there, 51
Sommaire Recueil des Raisons, not by Usselinx, 36
Sommier Verhael, 206, 207, 211, 212 ; described, 85, 86 ; see Summarische Erzehlung.
Sound, the, 46, 91, 134, 135
South or Southern Company, decided upon, 93 ; prospectus issued, 94 ; charter, as arranged by Usselinx, 97–100 ; delayed, 102 ; project explained in Auszführlicher Bericht, 106–11 ; chartered, versions of charter, 114, 115 ; editions, 117, 119, 120 ; recommended to riksdag, 120 ; its membership, 121 ; subscriptions and directors, 122, 123 ; travels and labors of Usselinx for, 123–190, *passim* ; plans of directors, 132 ; government assists, 133–6 ; suggestions of Usselinx for, 136 ; low estate of, 138 ; capital to be given to Ship Company, 151 ; the two united, 152 ; Usselinx excuses its delay,

155; amplifications of its charter, 160–2; trade of, 163; Spaniards injure, 164; amplifications signed, 168; French help sought, 174; scheme of union with Dutch W. I. Co., 175; of union with a Dutch South Company, 176–81; state of, 179, 180; activity revived, 183; founds settlement on Delaware, 184; merged in a West India Co., 190
Southey, R., quoted, 104
Spain, Usselinx in, 18; king of, heightens toll, 30; truce with, see Truce, Twelve Years'; attitude of Usselinx toward, 41, 43–5, 50, 69, 83, 103, 148, 171, 174, 177; slave-labor in colonies of, 44; attitude of, toward W. I. Co., 46; its rewards to discoverers, etc., 77; compared with Sweden, as to commercial facilities, 101, 102, 108, 109; South Company propose trade with, 132; designs of, 135; in Baltic, 144, 191; talk of truce with, 146, 147; opposed by Usselinx, 147–9; plan of Gustavus against, 162; seizes South Company's ships, 163, 164; opposed by France, 173; peace between Netherlands and, 199, 200
Sparre, Johan, 132
Spilbergen, 82
Spinola, 22, 23, 68, 69, 78, 79
Spiring, Peter, assists Usselinx, 178; Usselinx thinks him hostile, 182; promotes Delaware settlement, 183, 184; statement to Usselinx, 198
Sprinchorn, Carl K. S., quoted, 190
Stade, Usselinx at, 187
Staet ende Inkommen, etc., 191; title, etc., 220
Stampeel, Andreas, 127
States General, described, 25; see Usselinx's first paper, 30; submit Holland charter to cities, 32; charter a W. I. Co., 1607, 34; resume project, 35; urged in Vertoogh, 43; negotiate Twelve Years' Truce, 45; consult Usselinx, 50; their resolutions in general, 50; hear Usselinx in 1617, 54; come to be of Orange party, 56; frame a charter for W. I. Co., 59; promise recompense to Usselinx, 65; adopt the Holland charter, 66, 67; will not reconsider, 76; give Usselinx a small sum, 78, 80; will not give fuller recompense, 85, 86; their recommendation, 86, 112, 115, 144; send Vosbergen to Gustavus, 106; Usselinx recommended to, 139; his conference with, 140; hinder Falkenberg, 141; refer Usselinx to the W. I. Co., 146; copy of Waerschouwinghe presented to, 147; they reprimand Usselinx for it, 150; refer again to W. I. Co., 151; reject proposals of union, 178, 180, 181; correspondence of Usselinx at Hamburg with, 187–90; refuse request, 194; hear him, 195; do nothing for him, 197, 199; renew charter of West India Co., 200
States General, letters and memorials of Usselinx to, 46, 49, 50, 55, 58, 61–3, 67–9, 73–8, 80, 82, 83, 85, 86, 112, 124, 139, 146, 150, 151, 155, 170, 177, 181, 187–90, 186, 197, 211; titles, 213, 214, 217–20; see also those titles.
Stettin, 153; Usselinx in, 154–157; title of memorial, 217
Stiernman, A. A. von, quoted, 95–7, 100, 122, 133, 152
Stockholm, 93, 100, 106, 183; Usselinx in, 102, 103, 122, 127, 191, 193; guilds hinder South Co., 114; subscriptions from, 121, 122; South Company at, 163
Stockholm Academy, see Handlingar rörande, etc.
Stoppelaar, J. H. de, 29, 32, 34, 47, 50
Stralsund, 121, 135, 155; Usselinx at, 152–4, 176; Gustavus at, 152, 153; title of memorial of Usselinx, 217
Strömsholm, Usselinx at, 192
Summarische Erzehlung, 206; quoted, 47, 50, 51, 55, 56, 59, 78, 85, 86; see Auszführlicher Bericht.
Summarisk Berättelse, 206; described, 85, 86; see Summarische Erzehlung.
Svenska Riksrådets Protokoll, quoted, 91, 102–5, 114, 118–20, 124, 134–6, 141, 145, 152, 163, 164, 192.
Svensson, Anders, 119, 120
Sweden, Dutchmen in, 90; immigrants into, 91; poverty and commercial inexperience of, 94; mercantilism in, 95; commercial companies in, 96, 97; Usselinx's knowledge of, 100; aptness for commerce, 101, 108, 109; discussed in detail by Usselinx, 109, 110; political situation of, 1628, 134, 135, 138; alliance of, with Netherlands, 189; lands to reclaim in, 191; views of Usselinx on agriculture in, 193

Swedish, Usselinx attempts to write, 119; used in Finland, 130
Sweriges Rijkes . . . Compagnies . . . Contract, 99; described, 101, 102; bibliography of, 205

Temple, Sir William, 51, 52
Terceira, 20
Terra Nova, Usselinx on, 93
Thier, Johann, 127
Thirty Years' War, relations of United Provinces and W. I. Co. to, 66, 67, 141; Sweden resolved to engage in, 135, 138; Gustavus takes part in, 153, 155, 158–162; after his death, 172
Thom and Taube, quoted, 121
Thou, President Jacques de, quoted, 32, 116
Thurn, Count, 124
Tiele, P. A., Bibliotheek, quoted, 29, 36, 38, 74, 201–204, 208
Tilly, 134, 159
Tilsätning, 111, 206; see Auszführlicher Bericht, Anhang.
Tjassens, J., quoted, 72, 177
Tobacco, Usselinx on, 109, 185
Toledo, Don Frederico de, 112
Touche, Daniel de la; see Ravardière.
Travemünde, Usselinx captured off, 144
Tremblay, Père Joseph du, 168
Trevisano, Girolamo, quoted, 26
Treyden, Usselinx at, 126
Tromp, Maarten Harpertszoon, 187, 188
Truce, the Twelve Years', negotiations for, begin, 22, 23, 28; the negotiations, 34, 35, 45; concluded, 46; pamphlets on, 35–45; opinion of Usselinx on, 82
Tweede Noot-wendiger Discours, possibly by Usselinx, 204

Udemans, G., quoted, 14, 19, 29
Ulfeldt, Corfits, 89
Ulfeldt, Jakob, 89, 90
Ulfvesund, 193; Usselinx at, 192
Union, Protestant, in Germany, 67
Upsala, 103; Usselinx at, 193
Usseling, Jan Willemszoon, 200
Usselinx, other spellings of the name, 14; the family of, 16, 200; see Wesselinck, Jan.
Usselinx, Adriaen, and Willem, sr., affidavits of, 16
Usselinx, Willem, born in 1567 at Antwerp, 14; his family, 15, 16; originated in Hasselt, 16; his education and Protestantism, 17; goes to Spain, Portugul, and the Azores, 18; never in America, 19; his life in the Azores, 20; returns to the Netherlands wealthy, 21; repairs to the Northern provinces, 21; his project of a Dutch W. I. Co., 28; his early writings, 28, 29; his prospectus, 30; work in Holland and Zealand, 31; dissatisfaction with first charter, 33, 34; his pieces in the Bye-Korf, their dates, 36–8; the Bedenckinghen, 38, 39; the Naerder Bedenckingen, with specimen, 39–42; the Vertoogh, colonial trade and policy, 42–5; effects of his project on truce-negotiations, 46; truce hinders his labors, 47; invests at the Beemster, 48; chosen a superintendent there, 49; occasional labors, 50; bankruptcy, 51; his account of machinations against him, 52, 53; states plan to States General, 54, 55; works in Zealand, 56; connection with arrest of Oldenbarneveld, 57, 58; his draft of charter, 61–4; his requests for money, 65; his persistence, 67; his Corte aenwysinge, 68; collects subscriptions, 73; opposes including salt trade and attacking Brazil, 74–6; claims compensation, 77, 78, 80; journeys to Prince Maurice, 78, 79; his Korte Onderrichtinghe and Politiicq Discours, 80–2; views on Peru, 82; hindrances and failure to get pay, 84–6; leaves Netherlands, 87; in the duchies and Denmark, 88–90; at Gothenburg, 91; conference with Gustavus, 92; enengaged by him, 93; frames charter for South Company, 97–100; issues prospectus, 101; instructs Carl Banér, 103; friends in Holland, 104; work at Stockholm, 104–6; writes Naerder Bericht (Auszf. Ber., Vthf. Förkl.), 106–11; Anhang, 111, 112; arrangements for Company, 113, 114; provisions for, in charter, 115, 116; books printed, 117–19; present at diet, 1627, 120; travels, goes to Prussia, 123; is sent through Baltic provinces, 124; at Riga, 125, 126; at Reval, etc., 127, 128; in Finland, 129–31; at Stockholm, 132–4; letters to king and chancellor,

136; poverty, 137; returns to Netherlands, 139; seeks compensation, 140; consulted by Falkenberg as to loan of troops, 142; journeys to king in Prussia, 143; captured on return, 144; narrowly escapes, 145; cannot secure compensation, 146; writes Waerschouwinghe, 147–9; rebuked for it, 150; requests refused, 151; travels to Pomerania, 152; efforts at Stralsund and Stettin, 153–6; enlarges his schemes, 156–8; at Mainz, 158; at Frankfort and Würzburg, 159; prepares amplifications of charter, 160; writes Mercurius Germaniae, 164–7; present at the convention of Heilbronn, 158; publishes Argonautica Gustaviana, 169, 170; at Frankfort, 171, 172; goes to Paris, 173; in the Netherlands again, 175; returns thither, and tries to procure union with South Co., 176–81; minor schemes, 181; opinions as to Delaware settlement, 184; at Hamburg, 185–7; correspondence thence with States General, 188–90; relations with Gabriel de Roy, 189; returns to Sweden, 190; plans draining enterprises, and surveys sites, 192, 193; returns to Netherlands, 194; advises as to W. I. Co., and requests compensation, 195–7; last letters to Sweden, 198; last memorials and death, 199; relatives of, 137, 138, 198, 200; bibliography of books of, 201–13; unprinted writings of, 213–20; handwriting, 220

Utrecht, 56

Utrecht, Historisch Genootschap te, Berigt quoted, 53; Kronijk, quoted, 18, 19, 26, 124, 132, 156, 164, 179, 183, 218; wrongly assigns document to Usselinx, 76

Valladolid, decree respecting toll, 30

Vane, Sir Henry, 150

Velden, Abraham van, 162, 163

Velke, Dr., 158

Veluwe, invasion of the, 142, 146, 195

Venice, 57, 119

Vermuyden, Cornelius, 198

Verscheyden Redenen, 112, 113; title, etc., 215

Versterre, S. C., printer, 147, 208

Vertoogh, hoe nootwendich, 37, 74; date of, 38; described, 42–5; quoted, 29; bibliography of, 202; not in Marquardus, 212

Vervou, Jonkheer Fredrich van, quoted, 58, 68, 70

Viborg, Usselinx at, 129, 130; title of memorial, 216

Viglius, 171

Vignaud, H., 174

Virginia, 62, 73; Company, 60; Usselinx on, 92, 93, 109, 165

Vogt, memorials to, 77, 78; titles, etc., 214

Voigt, F., quoted, 185

Vondel, J. van den, 88, 91

Voornaemste pointen, de, etc., 80; title, etc., 214

Voortganck van de W. I. Co., 22, 37; not by Usselinx, 74, 75

Vosbergen, Caspar van, envoy, 105, 106

Vries, G. de, Az., quoted, 47, 52

Vthförligh Förklaring, described, 107–111; printed, 116, 117; copies sent out, 119; quoted, 19, 20, 79, 85–87, 102, 118; bibliography of, 205, 206; see also Auszführlicher Bericht.

Waerschouwinge over den Treves, described, 147–149; Usselinx reprimanded for it, 150, 153; quoted, 22, 29, 94, 140, 144, 146; bibliography of, 207, 208

Waerschouwinghe van de ghewichtighe redenen, not by Usselinx, 36

Wagenaar, 30

Wallenstein, 134, 135, 154, 159–161; message from, causes release of Usselinx, 145; relations to Sweden and Netherlands, 145

Walloons, see Netherlands, southern.

Warmholtz, C. G., quoted, 99, 201, 204, 206, 210.

Warwick, Earl of, 181

Wässby, ordinance of, for commercial company, 96

Wehmo, 128

Weiwitzer, M., 123

Welshuisen, Christian, director of South Co., 122, 124

Wenzelburger, K. Th., quoted, 22, 27, 142, 147, 178

Werth, Roland de, 29

Wesel, 145

Wesselinck, Jan, of Staten Island, 200

West India Company, Dutch, project of, 21, 28; taken up by States of Holland, 31; their draft of charter,

32, 33; resolve respecting, 35; recommended in Vertoogh, 43; its relation to the truce, 46; effect of truce on it, 47; project of, resumed, 58; charters proposed by Holland and Usselinx, 59–64; the former approved, 66; company chartered, 70; its charter, 70–72; vindicated as to colonization, 71, 72; additional charter, 75; subscriptions urged, 81; first expedition of, 87; Denmark inquires concerning, 89; subscriptions in France, 103; capture Bahia, 111; lose it, 112; victory in bay of Matanzas, 138; advice of Usselinx respecting, 140; Falkenberg's troops diverted to, 141; protest against truce, 146, 147; Usselinx referred to, 151; his opinion on, 165, 166, 171; he suggests union of South Co. with, 175, 177, 178; oppose Dutch South Co., 181; Usselinx on settlements of, 184, 185; his request referred to, 188; Usselinx on finances of, 191, 192; history, 194; efforts for relief of, 195; advice of Usselinx respecting, 196, 197; re-chartered, 200
West India Company, French, 174
West India Company, Swedish, see South Company.
West Indies, as to Usselinx's having been there, 19; his knowledge of trade of, 20; discussion of trade of, 43, 44; Jeannin on, 46; voyagers to, 60; resources set forth, 81
Westindische Spiegel, not by Usselinx, 101
Westphalia, peace of, 66
Wevelinckhoven, advocate, 69
White Hill, battle of the, 67, 69
Whitelocke, Bulstrode, quoted, 193
Wicquefort, quoted, 23
Widekindi, Joh., quoted, 96, 97
Wildschut, A., Az., 34
Willekens, Jacob, 87
Willem, or Wilm, Jan de, 90
Willemsen, Willem, assumed name of Usselinx, 16, 143
William, Count, of Nassau, convinced by Usselinx, 67
William of Orange, 149
Winsor, J., 207; Narrative and Critical History quoted, 101, 204–6, 220
Wismar, Usselinx in prison at, 144; released, 145, 146, 189
Witte Collectie, 202
Wittstock, battle of, 183
Wolmar, Usselinx at, 126
Wsselinx, see Usselinx.
Wulp, J. K. van der, Catalogus, quoted, 29, 201, 207, 208
Würzburg, 158; Usselinx at, 159, 160

Yssling, see Usselinx.

Zaire, lake of, 92
Zealand, Usselinx in, 29, 30, 34, 47, 55–7, 59; States of, act in behalf of W. I. Company, 31; chamber of W. I. Co. there, 33; draining operations in, 47; States favor scheme of Usselinx, 56; desires compensation for Amazon plantation, 70; preface of Waerschouwinge addressed to States of, 140, 146–8, 208
Zunzane, 88

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previous annual meeting, or the proposed amendment having received the approval of the Executive Council.

Amendment to the Constitution, April 25, 1886.

Resolved, To amend Article III. of the Constitution of the American Historical Association by striking out the words "twenty-five dollars" and introducing, in place thereof, "fifty dollars," as the regular life-membership fee of The American Historical Association, said amendment to go into effect January 1, 1887.

NOTE.—In view of the fact that members of the Association have not been generally notified of the passage of this amendment, in consequence of unavoidable delay in the issue of the present report, the Executive Council recommend provisionally that the date when the amendment shall take effect be June 1, 1887, instead of January 1, 1887, this recommendation to be submitted for ratification to the general Association at its fourth annual meeting.

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FOURTH ANNUAL MEETING.

The next meeting of the Association will be in Boston and Cambridge, May 21–24, 1887, with an excursion to Old Plymouth, May 25. Sessions will be held at the Massachusetts Institute of Technology and at Harvard University. The American Economic Association will also convene in Boston and Cambridge, May 21–24. Receptions will be given to both associations in the Museum of Fine Arts in Boston, and at Wellesley College. A programme of the exercises has been sent to members.